

BURUSHASKI CASE MARKING, AGREEMENT, AND IMPLICATIONS:

AN ANALYSIS OF THE HUNZA DIALECT

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This thesis was written to explore the structural case patterns of the Burushaski sentence and to examine the different participant coding systems which appear between noun marking and verb agreement. Verb suffixes follow nominative alignment patterns of agreement, while the verb prefix agrees with the affected argument as determined by semantic relations, as opposed to syntactic ones. The agent noun phrase is directly marked when highly active or volitional, suggesting a system of agent marking on the noun phrase and nominative alignment on the verb suffix. Nominative alignment also allows for a less marked presence of passive voice. Burushaski's agent marking is not entirely consistent; however, its nominative alignment is consistent. The conclusion is that Burushaski is not an ergative language at all.

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## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Below is a listing of the abbreviations that I use throughout the thesis in my glossing. I have written all of the glosses in this thesis according to my standard as shown above and in some cases have broken up morpheme boundaries differently than the original authors. However, I have not changed the meanings or interpretations of any of the glosses. I use a single standard for ease of reading.

Glossing Shorthand	Meaning
1,2,3	Person
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive
AUX	Auxiliary verb
CAUS	Causative
COM	Comitative
COMP	Complimentizer
CTRAN	Causative Transitive
d	ḍ-prefix
DAT	Dative
DM	Discourse Marker
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
F	Female
FT	Future tense
GEN	Genitive
HB	Hunza Burushaski
IMP	Imperative
INDF	Indefinite
INF	Infinitive
IPFV	Imperfective
J&K	Jammu and Kashmiri Burushaski
LOC	Locative

NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
OBL	Oblique
OPT	Optative
PAST	Past tense
PERF	Perfect
PL	Plural
PRES	Present tense
PROG	Progressive
PTCP	Participial
SNG	Singular
VOC	Vocative
YB	Yasin Burushaski

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background

Burushaski is a language spoken by approximately 87 thousand native speakers (Lewis, 2009) in the northern areas of Pakistan; in the Yasin, Hunza, and Nagar valleys. There is also a sizeable population of speakers in the Gilgit area of northern Pakistan as well as a small number of speakers, around 300, in the Kashmir region in India (Munshi, 2006, p. 6). I was first introduced to the language as part of my instruction at the University of North Texas. The language was the topic of a field methods class being taught by Sadaf Munshi, whose dissertation on the Srinagar sub-dialect of Burushaski is an important reference for this thesis. Also a native speaker of Burushaski, Piar Karim was not only our main consultant for the class, but also a fellow student in linguistics and the research assistant on a language documentation project conducted by Munshi at the University of North Texas.

#### 1.2 Goals

This thesis was written to explore the structural case patterns of the Burushaski sentence in the Hunza dialect and to examine the two systems of case marking which appears between noun marking and verb agreement. In Burushaski, verb suffixes tend to follow Nnominative patterns of agreement, while the verb prefix agrees with the affected argument as determined by semantic relations, as opposed to syntactic ones. While verb

agreement patterns follow nominative alignments, the agent noun phrase is directly marked, suggesting a difference in participant coding between agentive marking on the noun phrase and nominative agreement on the verb. I explore this case marking system by analyzing Burushaski agreement patterns, in an effort to show Burushaski's syntax as grouping the transitive agent and intransitive subject together through verb agreement and internal structure.

### 1.3 Methodology and Data

Throughout the thesis I reference six texts which were gathered by Dr. Munshi through field work conducted in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. The texts are of different oral stories from the area and their names are “Baadil Jamal”, “Limpi Kiser”, “Daddo Puno”, “Chine Maghuyo”, “Mattum Ke Burum”, and “Hamale Khattun.” The texts play an important role, as they served for the main source of examples in my work. Each claim that I make uses data from these texts as support. I use texts and stories over elicitations as often as possible. Using a text-and-discourse centered approach supplemented by elicitation textual data (Munshi, 2006), I can claim that the patterns I find are natural and were not forced out of native speakers accidentally through elicitation. Data obtained through translation has been shown to result in non-representative data especially for grammatical relation coding (Chelliah, 2001; Chelliah & Reuse, 2010; Chelliah & Hyslop, Introduction to special issue on optional case marking in Tibeto-Burman, 2011). The use of texts was also used by Munshi (2006) to avoid similar issues with elicitation. However, when I was unable to find a certain construction, for example in causative constructions where I compared an intransitive verb to the same verb with a causative

morpheme added, I had to rely on elicited data or data provided to me by a native speaker.

Note: All data is HB (Hunza Burushaski) unless otherwise noted. As a general rule, data from Munshi (2006) is J&K (Jammu and Kashmiri) Burushaski, while data from Lorimer, Bashir, Morin, and Tiffou is YB (Yasin Burushaski). The stories are all HB.

#### 1.4 Organization of the Thesis

In chapter 1.5 I briefly review two constructions that need to be understood in order to avoid confusion in the glossing later on. These forms are the *ḡ*-prefix, and the verb ‘To come.’ After reviewing these two forms, I briefly review my transcription system in chapter 1.6 before continuing to the main body of the thesis.

The main topic at hand is the issue of verb agreement in Burushaski as discussed in chapter 2 and in chapter 3 of this thesis. Specifically, there are two affixes which are of interest. The first is an agreement marker on the verb suffix, which agrees with the grammatical subject of the sentence (Anderson, 2007, pp. 1258-1259). The other affix of interest is a verb pronominal prefix, which is described as being in absolutive agreement (Munshi, 2006, pp. 129-141) and also as being subject to certain semantic constraints which affect when it is used (Bashir, 1985).

In chapter 2, I argue that the way in which the verb suffix agrees with the agent of a transitive sentence and the subject of an intransitive sentence as seen in Munshi (2006, pp. 126-141), Anderson (2007, p. 1258), and Lorimer (1935), resembles other systems where ergativity is only evident in noun marking, and completely absent in verb marking (Kroeger, 2004, pp. 282-284; Mallinson & Blake, 1981). That is to say, while Burushaski noun phrases receive ergative marking on the agent, suffix realizations on the verb are

best analyzed as following a separate and nominative agreement pattern. I look at how direct case marking<sup>1</sup> appears in the texts, and also at verb suffix realizations in texts, trying to find patterns which act contrary to the ergative noun case marking and nominative verb agreement patterns that I propose. I also apply tests to the structure of the Burushaski sentence by first looking at if and how the presence or absence of an ergative marker on the agent affects verb suffix agreement. Then I test internal syntactic case by finding examples in the texts, from previous works, and from elicitations, which show deletion, control, and coordination. These tests show Burushaski's verbal agreement pattern as being nominative. Lastly I explore two cases where the suffix agrees with the patient of the sentence, rather than the subject or agent. The first instance of this is the pathetive case. This turns out to be a marked construction similar to a passive and is not a problem for my analysis. The second patient agreement structure is with experiencer noun phrases that are marked with the dative. These constructions are an emerging form in Burushaski, being influenced by the areal prominence of dative subjects in South Asian languages

In chapter 3, I analyze the pronominal prefix, from a semantic point of view. The prefixes agreement patterns are described by their semantics in (Bashir, 1985) and I propose a similar system where the prefix is not thought of as a syntactic marker at all. I first take a look at the prefix in intransitive sentences, attempting to derive from the texts

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<sup>1</sup> Direct marking describes any sort of case marking which is applied directly to the noun. The ergative marker /e/ in Burushaski directly marks the agent noun phrase. I also use the term indirect marking in this thesis which describes ways that languages indicate case by marking something other than the noun phrase. It is often realized as verb agreement, though can also be realized as a clitic. Burushaski also has Indirect marking on the verb. The suffix agrees with the grammatical subject. These terms come from Mallinson and Blake, 1981.

a simple and elegant explanation for how semantic categories control prefix realizations in these sentences. I then look to prefix realizations in transitive sentences, again drawing from texts for examples. As with intransitive sentences, I attempt to apply a simple and pleasing semantic account for all of the prefix realizations which I find in the texts. Looking at the prefix from a semantic point of view rather than a syntactic point of view fits into the concept of verb agreement and noun case marking as being separated between nominative systems on the verb suffix and agent marking on the noun phrase. Differential object marking as described in Aissen (2003), Escandell-Vidal (2009), and Haspelmath (2005) also may be used to describe prefix agreement in Burushaski. I look at the prefixes from this aspect as well.

After analyzing these two affixes and their agreement patterns on the verb, I go on in chapter 4 to look at how voice and marked constructions, namely passive constructions, appear in the texts that I have analyzed. After reviewing work that has already been published on the Burushaski passive (Bashir, 1985; Morin & Tiffou, 1988) I look at whether similar forms appear in my textual data. Differences in passive forms may surface due to the fact that that I am studying the Hunza dialect of Burushaski, while Bashir (1985) and Morin and Tiffou (1988) looked specifically at the Yasin dialect. Finally, in chapter 5, I provide a conclusion of the first four chapters.

### 1.5 The *ḡ*-Prefix and the Verb ‘To Come’

Before starting the main topics of discussion in chapter 2, I need to introduce two unique constructions which occur in Burushaski verbs. The first unique construction I discuss is the verb prefix /dV-/, which appears before certain verbs and is glossed

throughout the text as simply d. The second verb construction I discuss is the irregular verb ‘to come’ which is uniquely formed without a verb stem. I introduce these two forms here to avoid confusion in the glossing later on.

### 1.5.1 The ḡ-Prefix

In the glossing of texts in this thesis, many verbs have a prefix, /ḡV-/, which is glossed as simply d. The prefix’s function is unclear, but a brief summary of research on the topic is necessary to avoid confusion later on. Phonologically, it is followed by an ambiguous vowel which is subject to vowel harmony (Anderson, 2007, pp. 1248-1250; Anderson, 1997; Munshi, 2006, pp. 194-197).

Certain verbs in Burushaski take the ḡ-prefix which has a varying degree of semantic impact on the verbs that it is paired with. The exact function of the ḡ-prefix remains somewhat unclear. On both transitive and intransitive verbs, Bashir (1985, p. 21; 2000, pp. 4-11) claims that it brings a focus to the result and defocuses the actors. In the data that I have observed there are two main types of ḡ-prefix uses. The first type is associated with a slight change meaning such as focus or transitivity, and the second type is associated with the creation of a completely different word. Example (1) shows the first type, and (2) shows the second type:

(1)

a. *ḡuuḡ-imi*

melt-3.PAST

‘it melted.’

b. *d̥e-s-tu<sub>l</sub>-am*

dV-CTAN-melt-1.PAST

‘I melted it.’

(2)

a. *i-man-imi*

3-become-3.PAST

‘He became (something).’

b. *d̥-i-man-imi*

d-3-become-3.PAST

‘He was born.’

Outside of this analysis, I do not focus much on the *d̥*-prefix itself. A nice list of verbs that occur in two forms, one with the *d̥*-prefix and one without, along with their corresponding glosses can be found in Bashir (1985, pp. 21-23). Other comparative lists of *d̥*-prefix verbs and analyses of the *d̥*-prefix paradigm can be found in Munshi (2006, pp. 194-197), Anderson (2007, pp. 1248-1250), and Bashir (2000). With regards to the present study, the presence or absence of the *d̥*-prefix does not have an effect on the agreement patterns of the pronominal prefix.

### 1.5.2 The Verb ‘To Come’

The other oddity which may cause confusion in reading the glosses throughout this thesis is the irregular verb ‘to come.’ It is the only verb in Burushaski that is formed without a stem. This verb is formed with a stem that has been historically reduced to zero, the *ḡ*-prefix, and suffix agreement with the subject as shown in (3) below. See Anderson (2007, p. 1264) for a list of different realizations of the verb ‘to come.’

- (3) *ḡa-Ø-a*                      *baa*  
dV-\*come-1.PRES    AUX.1.PRES  
‘I come.’

The non-stemmed verb to come, a verb formed without a stem where the d-prefix and suffix are affixed to /Ø/, is one of the stranger oddities in Burushaski. It would seem that the *ḡ*-prefix alone is responsible for the transfer of meaning when used with the verb ‘to come’ while the suffix attaches itself to a stem that is not really there.

### 1.6 Transcription System

Burushaski has a rich phonemic inventory; I very briefly go over the standard of transcription in (4) that I have used in my thesis, which differs from Berger’s 1998 standard:



(4)

m	n			ŋ	
p <sup>h</sup>	t̪ <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
p	t̪		t	k	q
b	d̪		d	g	
	c <sup>h</sup>	č <sup>h</sup>	č̣ <sup>h</sup>		
	c	č	č̣		
		ǰ	ž		
	s	š	ʃ	x	h
	z			ɣ	
	r				
	l	y	ɭ	w	

The data in (4) above accounts for all of the distinct consonants which are used in my data, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /t/, and /d/ are somewhere between alveolar and retroflex (Munshi, 2006, p. 59), but I have adopted the standard of marking the dental versions of these phonemes and not the near retroflex alveolar stops, similar to the system used in (Munshi, 2006). Burushaski has five vowels of which length is a distinguishing feature. I simply list those vowels in (5), rather than go into much detail:

(5) i        e        a        o        u

## CHAPTER 2

### CASE MARKING AND AGREEMENT

#### 2.1 Introduction

I approach this section using analyses of the term grammatical subject as being differentiated in marking systems by the nominative case in nominative languages and by the absolutive case in absolutive languages (Dixon, 1972, pp. 125-219; Kroeger, 2004, p. 284; Comrie, 1988, pp. 10-11). With this in mind I look at how the concept of subject is treated in Burushaski after reviewing other analyses of Burushaski case and agreement. Case marking as a means of differentiating between agent and object in transitive sentences can be seen as being undertaken in two different ways in Burushaski. The first way that Burushaski differentiates these two roles is through the direct ergative marker which appears on the agent. I first analyze how this marker is used in the texts, comparing textual realizations to past descriptions of the Burushaski ergative marker. I also compare claims of an ergative split along tense to what I have found in the texts.

The second way that Burushaski differentiates agent from object is through its verb agreement patterns which mark the subject of the sentence. The task of identifying the subject is taken on by the verb suffix. In 2.4 I explore the way that Burushaski verb agreement is differentiated in its system between the ergative noun marking system described above and the nominative agreement patterns which exist on the verb suffix. I

compare this distinction between marking systems which I suspect is present in Burushaski to a similar system found in Warlpiri, as well as systems described in Mallinson and Blake (1981), and move on to show how the suffix appears in the texts. With textual evidence, I then test how the suffix reacts to changes in ergative marking. I also test how Burushaski shows control, deletion, and coordination relationships in order to show how Burushaski treats the subject in a nominative, rather than in an absolutive manner. Finally, I explore forms which may pose a problem to my hypothesis. There are forms where a noun phrase marked dative may be the subject, but does not receive suffix agreement. I apply similar subject tests to these constructions to come to a definitive conclusion on how Burushaski verb suffixes show nominative patterns of agreement.

## 2.2 Literature Review

Suffix agreement is stated in Anderson (2007, p. 1258) as being in agreement with the grammatical subject of the sentence. The suffix is again referred to as being in agreement with the subject in Wilson (1996, p. 4), though there is no reference as to why Burushaski groups S and A together with suffix agreement, and why Burushaski groups S and P together in noun morphology.<sup>2</sup> The implication of Burushaski's verb suffix agreement patterns is that since the suffix groups S and A together and treats them as equals Burushaski exhibits separate systems of case marking along its direct and indirect marking. This type of difference has been described in Mallinson and Blake (1981), Kroeger (2004, p. 283), and Simpson (1983; 1991, pp. 155-161). Specifically, Mallinson and Blake identify twelve theoretical types of case marking in language. Type eight,

---

<sup>2</sup> S, A, and P refer to the subject (S) of an intransitive sentence, the agent (A) of a transitive sentence, and the patient (P) of the agent in a transitive sentence. This convention is used throughout the thesis.

where direct marking is ergative and indirect marking is nominative, is similar to the type seen in Burushaski.

In her dissertation, *Jammu and Kashmir Burushaski: Language, Language Contact, and Change*, Munshi (2006) describes five different patterns of verb agreement which she argues are determined by five different verb classes or groups. These groups are determined by three intransitive groups of verbs and two transitive groups.<sup>3</sup> These groups of verbs pattern together and those patterns are listed below, labeled simply as Pattern 1 through Pattern 5 and come from Munshi (2006, pp. 126-141):

Pattern 1:

Pattern 1 is made up of intransitive verbs with only suffix agreement. The suffix, as analyzed here, is in absolutive agreement:

[<sub>sentence</sub> Absolutive NP                  VERB-Abs]



Pattern 2:

Pattern 2 is made up of a second class of intransitive verbs which may take a prefix depending on the animacy of the subject. Prefixes appear with animate absolutive subjects, and do not appear with inanimate absolutive subjects:

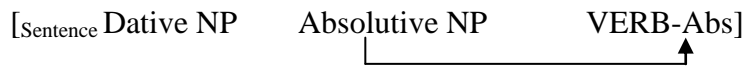
---

<sup>3</sup> These “classes of verbs” can be said to be lexically classified, with certain groups of verbs being lexically marked to pattern in certain ways. It can also be said that these groups are determined by semantic categories of the verb. Transitivity and animacy are major factors in Munshi’s analysis.



Pattern 3:

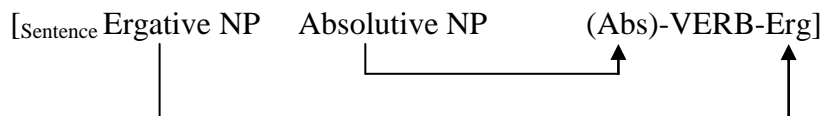
Pattern 3 is made of intransitive verbs plus a dative experiencer which is not agreed with in the verb at all. There is no prefix on these verbs:



Up to this point, the suffix has been treated as an absolutive agreement marker. In Munshi's analysis, the agreement patterns of the suffix in transitive sentences are analyzed differently from those which are analyzed in the intransitive sentences:

Pattern 4:

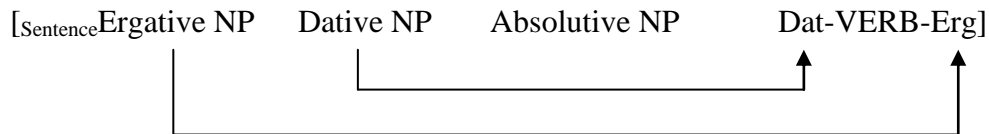
In Pattern 4, the suffix agrees with the ergative agent rather than the absolutive subject. The prefix agrees with the absolutive noun phrase only if it is animate.



Pattern 5:

Pattern 5 differs in its prefix agreement patterns though the suffix remains in agreement with the ergative agent. The prefix agrees with the dative, however if there is an oblique

rather than a dative, there is no prefix agreement. These are sentences with di-transitive verbs.



## 2.3 Direct Ergative Marking

### 2.3.1 The /-e/ marker in texts

As described in the introduction, Burushaski marks case in two ways; ergative marking on the agent and agreement on the verb. In this section I discuss direct marking in Burushaski which is associated with the ergative marker /-e/ that appears as a suffix on the agent of a transitive sentence. Phonologically, the ergative marker appears as the suffix /-e/ on nouns that end in consonants. On nouns that end in a short vowel, the ergative marker appears through vowel lengthening. Finally, when the ergative marker is used on nouns that end in a long vowel it is realized as a null marker (Munshi, 2012, p. 173). Examples (6) through (8) show simple intransitive and transitive sentences taken from the text which clearly display the ergative marker. The intransitive sentence in example (6) has no marker and the transitive sentences (7) and (8) have the ergative marker /-e/ following the agent:

(6) *hin kaniiz-an duus-umo*

one maid-INDF come out-3.F.PAST

‘A maid came out.’ (Baadil Jamal 31 from Munshi 2012)

(7) *beeya je-e e-eyc-a baa*

No 1-ERG NEG-do-1 AUX.1.PAST

‘No, I have not seen it.’ (‘...have not done it.’) (Limpi Kiser 103 from Munshi 2012)

(8) *un-e limpi kisar d-i-c-aa*

2-ERG Limpi Kiser d-3-bring-2.SNG

‘You brought Limpi Kiser.’ (Limpi Kiser 108)

When eliciting data, this marking is fairly regular. Ergative markers are expected to appear on the agents of transitive sentences in Burushaski and to not appear on subjects of intransitive sentences. However, there are exceptions which show up while analyzing the discourse in the texts where the ergative marker is either not used to mark the agent or where the ergative marker is used in intransitive constructions, seemingly marking emphasis. Ergative marking being used to emphasize a noun phrase that would otherwise not be expected to carry ergative marking, or ergative marking being absent on a noun phrase where it would be expected due to the lack of a need for emphasis, has been described as pragmatic ergative marking, optional ergative marking, or pragmatic

case marking systems in Barðdal and Chelliah (2009) and Meakins (2009). The languages discussed in these works apply pragmatic discretion to ergative markers with high frequency. The pragmatic usage of ergatives that I have seen in Burushaski is not high enough in frequency to claim that its ergative system is completely pragmatic. However, examples from the text do show similar patterns occurring, though less frequently. Examples of pragmatic usage that I came across in the texts are shown below. It can be seen that the ergative appears on the subject in an intransitive sentence in (9), and not on the agent in transitive sentences as in (10) and (11a).<sup>4</sup> Example (9) shows ergativity in an unexpected environment, while Examples (10) and (11) both show the ergative marker absent in expected environments.

(9)

- a. *hiles-e*            *har(a)-imi*  
       baby-**ERG**      pee-3.PAST  
       ‘The baby peed.’ (volitionally)

---

<sup>4</sup> I have included examples (10b) and (10c) to show that the word for arrow is actually /zame/ and the final /e/ should not be confused for an ergative marker itself. Ergativity is expressed on words with a short vowel ending by vowel lengthening as explained in (Munshi, 2006, p. 173) and it can be seen that there is no ergative marker and no vowel lengthening in (10). Also, Hunza Burushaski is undergoing dialectical changes at a high rate (S. Munshi, personal communication, June 2012), which implies that phonological processes which may account for the loss of ergativity in (10). This phonological ergative loss has the potential to impact the morpho-syntax of the language by making ergative markers null in a large number of environments.



- b. *hiles-Ø*            *har(a)-imi*  
       *baby-Ø*            *pee-3.PAST*  
       ‘The baby peed.’ (Non-volitionally)

(10)

- a. *ǰe-e*            *ẓame- Ø*            *ǧ-a-c-i*            *bi*  
       1-GEN            arrow- Ø            d-1-bring-3    AUX.3<sup>(arrow)</sup>.PRES  
       ‘My arrow brought me here.’ (Baadil Jamal 70)

- b. *amulo ma-e*            *ẓame*    *č<sup>h</sup>ap*    *eč-aan*            *ke*  
       where 2.PL-ERG    arrow shoot do-2.PL.PRES    COMP  
       ‘Where you shoot the arrow.’ (Baadil Jamal 21)

- c. *č<sup>h</sup>ar-e*            *čat-an-ar*            *in-e*            *ise*    *ẓame*  
       mountain-GEN    crack-INDF-DAT    3-GEN    that    arrow  
       *ni-imi*  
       go-3<sup>(arrow)</sup>.PAST  
       ‘His arrow went into a mountain crack.’ (Baadil Jamal 25)

(11)

- a. *baadil jamaal-∅*      *ke*      *i-yeec-umo*  
      baadil jamal-∅      COMP      3.M-see-3.F.Past  
      ‘Baadil Jamal saw him.’ (Baadil Jamal 57)

- b. *je-e*      *hir*      *i-yeč-a*      *baa*  
      1-ERG      man      3.M-see-1      AUX.1.PRES  
      ‘I see the man.’

The intransitive construction ‘pee’ in (9) shows an ergative marker used emphatically or to show volition. Ergative markers in intransitive sentences are not expected. Example (10a), from the story Baadil Jamal, shows an inanimate agent lacking the ergative marker. Burushaski is sensitive to animacy, and ergative marking absence on an inanimate agent in (10a) is not surprising considering the sensitivity of the prefix to animacy, discussed further in chapter 3. We can also compare (11a) and (11b) to see instances where the ergative appears in one sentence with the transitive verb ‘see’ but does not in another transitive sentence with ‘see’ which was pulled from the texts.<sup>5</sup> Example (11) is interesting because the animate agent is missing the ergative marker,

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<sup>5</sup> The absence of ergative markers on proper nouns may be predictable. It has been proposed that a proper noun followed by the complimentizer /ke/ may experience predictable ergative loss. (S. Munshi, personal communication, June 2012). However, instances where the ergative marker is dropped even with pronouns also exist with the verb ‘see’ in the texts. Ambiguity is abound in these sentences however, because even /in/ in I) below may refer to either male or female third persons. A definitive conclusion is difficult to come by.

I.    *in*      *qasin*      *mu-yeec-imi*  
      3.M      girl      3.F-see-3.M.PAST  
      ‘He saw the girl.’ (Mattum Ke Burum Looto 39)

where elicited data shows that the verb ‘to see’ should be receiving ergative marking.

Instances like those in (9) through (11) show how Burushaski’s ergative marker may be used optionally.

### 2.3.2 Tense Split

According to Tiffou and Morin (1982) and Lorimer (1935, p. 65) Burushaski is said to operate on a split ergative system between non-future and future tenses. The split system itself can be seen on noun morphology, where the ergative marker /-e/ appears only after agents in past and present tenses and is absent in future tense. See examples (12) and (13) below for the split ergative system where past and future tenses are compared with the same verb. Examples (12a) and (12b) demonstrate the split along tense were given to me by a native Hunza Burushaski speaker. Past tense ‘I saw the girl’ displays the ergative marker on the first person singular pronoun /je/, which is realized as /je-e/ while future tense ‘I will see the girl’ does not have this marker. Example (13) below comes from Lorimer (1935) and shows the same pattern on the second person singular pronoun /un/.

(12)

- a.    *je-e*                      *dasin*    *mu-yeec-am*  
         1-ERG                  girl       3-see-1.PAST  
         ‘I saw the girl.’

b. *je đasin mu-yeš-am*

1 girl 3-see-1.FT

‘I will see the girl.’

(13)

a. *un-e in mu-cuč-aa*

You-ERG her 3-marry-2.PRES

‘You marry her.’ (Lorimer, 1935, p. 65) (YB)

b. *un in mu-cuč-uma*

2 3 3-marry-2.FUT

‘You will marry her.’ (Lorimer, 1935, p. 65) (YB)

As far as the data for this study is concerned, the only place where the system shows this split based on tense is on the direct noun ergative marker. There is no change in verb agreement regardless of tense. This split along tense in Burushaski is common throughout the language, though again, there are examples in the texts which show how ergative markers can be used in the future tense. Using story texts rarely gives one the opportunity to analyze future tense due to the fact that most of the constructions are in past or present. I was, however, able to locate some examples of pragmatic ergative usage in the future tense, going against previous assumptions in Lorimer (1935, p. 65) Tiffou and Morin (1982) which restricted the ergative marker to all but future tense. All of these

examples of future tense ergative usage used the verb /zap/ ‘spare’ plus the light verb /et/. Due to a limited number of future tenses in the stories, it is difficult to say whether there is absolutely pragmatic ergative usage or a class of verbs which break the non-future tense ergative split.

It is also worth noting that most of the examples of pragmatic ergative usage that I have come across both in the texts and in my notes are in negative sentences. Examples (14) and (15) below show this tendency for ergatives in unexpected environments that are negative, although (9a) does have non-negative pragmatic ergative usage. It would be worthwhile to investigate further the possible influence of negativity and emphasis on pragmatic ergative appearances in Hunza Burushaski. Examples (14) and (15) below come from the texts, and show future tense ergative usage:

- (14)      *mii*              *baaḍil*              *ǰamaal-e*              *zap*      *a-ko-č-o*  
                  1.PL-GEN      baadil              jamal-ERG      spare      NEG-2-do-3.FT  
                  ‘Our Baadil Jamal will not spare you.’ (Baadil Jamal 33)

- (15)      *ǰe-e*              *a-u-e*                              *ke*      *zap*      *a-ko-č-i*  
                  1-GEN              1-father-ERG              COMP spare      NEG-2-do-3.FT  
                  ‘My father will not spare you.’ (Baadil Jamal 75)

While in elicited data and in Tiffou and Morin (1982) and Lorimer (1935) there is certainly a split in ergative marking along tense boundaries, that split becomes less

obvious in the texts that I have been analyzing. Similar instances of differences in elicited ergative marking and textual ergative marking have been noted in Chelliah (2001) Chelliah and Reuse (2010). There are certainly more frequent instances of the ergative noun markers in non-future tenses than there are in future tense, however there are also examples of ergative markers in the future tense in the Hunza dialect stories that I have been analyzing. Story telling is not the best medium for analyzing a split along tense, since almost everything encountered is non-future. It would be interesting to see how the lack of future ergative holds up in natural discourse outside of storytelling. Elicited data may be giving false readings of the ergative in future tense, but to say so for sure, more natural discourse needs to be analyzed. The existence of ergative suffix on agents in future tense sentences may also be an emerging feature of Hunza Burushaski. In my data the ergative marker predictably appears in negative future tense sentences, though if it is emerging, its future tense usage may spread to other constructions.

## 2.4 Noun and Verb Case Marking

At this point I would like to discuss differences which exists in the agreement markers in Burushaski verbs and direct marking on its nouns. This type of system is described in Mallinson and Blake (1981). Burushaski is clearly differentiated, between verb and noun marking, in the way that it organizes case. While many agent noun phrases do receive ergative marking, this marking is purely morphological, and the verb follows nominative alignment with participant marking on the suffix. Separate systems along noun case marking and verb agreement has been described in the Warlpiri language of Australia (Simpson, 1983; Simpson, 1991, pp. 155-161). See the appendix for a more

detailed description of the Warlpiri participant coding system as well as a direct comparison to similar forms in Burushaski. I show this difference in case systems in the four sub-chapters below by looking for exceptions to nominative agreement patterns that I propose in the texts, by showing independence between noun marking and verb suffix realizations, and by looking at control, coordination, and deletion patterns to show an underlyingly nominative treatment of the subject in Hunza Burushaski.

#### 2.4.1 Suffix Realizations in the Texts

I discuss the two systems in detail by looking at the suffix markers on Burushaski verbs, which consistently pattern in a way that is best described as nominative. This is similar to systems such as Warlpiri in that the suffix patterns in ways consistent with nominative agreement, despite the presence of a direct ergative marker on the noun. Understand here that agreement is separate from direct marking, and that an agent marked with /-e/ is not any different with relation to the nominative suffix patterns than the unmarked intransitive subject. Burushaski direct ergative marking is purely morphological, and has little to no syntactic influence. It is not necessary in Burushaski to use case marking on the noun for distinguishing subjects. See Detges (2009) for examples of direct markings limited usefulness in differentiating subject and object in other languages.

Before looking at the examples I have listed the different forms that the verb suffix takes in Table 1 and Table 2 below. For my suffix analysis I am using data taken from Anderson (2007) as the standard for my analysis of verb suffixes. In the original analysis stems were included, but because my study focuses here on verb suffix

agreement outside of stem form morpho-phonemics, I have edited the data to show only the stems and their agreement with first, second and third persons. Third person here is broken into 4 classes: third person male and female animate classes along with third person bi and bila inanimate classes. Bi class nouns are typically concrete and tangible items, sometimes described as countable while the bila class nouns are typically non-concrete items, sometimes referred to as non-countable (Munshi, 2006, p. 185; Munshi, 2012; Lorimer, 1935; Berger, 1998, pp. 144-158)

Table 1

*Suffix Realizations in Perfective, Future, and Past*

	Perfective		Future		Past	
	SNG	PL	SNG	PL	SNG	PL
1 <sup>st</sup>	-a	-an	-am	-an	-am	-uman
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-a	-an	-uma	-een	-uma	-uman
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	-i	-an	-(im)i	-een	-imi	-uman
3 <sup>rd</sup> F	-o	-an	-(um)o	-een	-umo	-uman
3 <sup>rd</sup> (bi)	-i	-ien	-(im)i	-ie(n)	-imi	-imie
3 <sup>rd</sup> (bila)	-i	-i	-(im)i	-(im)i	-imi	-imi



Table 2

*Suffix Realizations in Perfect, Present, Pluperfect, and Imperfect*

	Perfect/Present		Pluperfect/Imperfect	
	SNG	PL	SNG	PL
1 <sup>st</sup>	-a baa	-aan/-oon	-a bayam	-am/-om
2 <sup>nd</sup>	-aa/-oo	-aan/-oon	-am/-om	-am/-om
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	-ai/-oi	-aan/-oon	-am/-om	-am/-om
3 <sup>rd</sup> F	-u bo	-aan/-oon	-u bom	-am/-om
3 <sup>rd</sup> (bi)	-i bi	bien	-i bim	-i bim
3 <sup>rd</sup> (bila)	-ila/bila	bica	-i bilum	-i bicum

With the suffix realizations in mind, we can now look at several examples from texts and analyze the agreement patterns using Table 1 and 2 as a guide. I show examples of transitive and intransitive constructions while analyzing verb suffix agreement. It can be noted that the presence of an ergative marker depends on the transitivity of the sentence, and generally does not appear on the subjects of intransitive sentences. Clauses with agents have direct marking on the agent and verb participant suffixal coding. Clauses with actors and other thematic roles have no marking on the noun phrase and also have verb participant suffixal coding following nominative alignment. We can double check these patterns with the charts in Table 1 and 2 above, showing a highly regular pattern of subject marking on the suffix in all constructions. Examples (16) through (20) below show how the suffix agrees with the agent and with the subject of an intransitive sentence. Notice that the verb suffix does not alter its form in any way when changing between transitive and intransitive sentences. In (16) through (20), examples

marked with “a” are transitive sentences, and those marked with “b” are intransitive sentences.

(16)

- a. *ye minaş-in ke kaafi et-[a baa]*  
 DM story-PL COMP enough do-[1 AUX.1.PERF]  
 ‘I have told many stories.’ (Baadil Jamal 3)

- b. *je daru-e gane a-ta-a-Ø-[a baa]*  
 1 hunting-GEN for NEG-dV-1-*\*come*-[1 AUX.1.PERF]  
 ‘I have not come here for hunting.’ (Baadil Jamal 34)

(17)

- a. *nu-sen šootkum no u-c<sup>h</sup>arkan-[uman]*  
 PTCP-say insult PTCP 3.PL-beat-[3.PL.PAST]  
 ‘Insulting them, they beat them.’ (Mattum Ke Burum Looto 41 from  
 Munshi 2012)

- b. *garkuy-anc u-man-[uman] yuwa*  
 Marriageable-PL 3.PL-become-[3.PL.PAST] sons  
 ‘His sons became marriageable.’ (Baadil Jamal 14)

(18)

- a. *in-e*                      *ulo*    *numoon*                      *sen-[umo]*    *ke* ...  
3.F-ERG            inside    go.PTCP                      say-[3.F.PAST] COMP ...

‘She went inside and said...’ (Baadil Jamal 39)

- b. *parišaan*                      *mu-man-[umo]*  
worried                      3.F-become-[3.F.PAST]

‘She was worried.’ (Baadil Jamal 63)

(19)

- a. *ite*    *minas*    *go-ar*                      *eč-[am]*  
That    story    2-DAT                      do-[1.FT]

‘I will tell you that story.’ (Baadil Jamal 8)

- b. *je*    *hole*                      *đuuš-[am]*  
1            outside                      come.out-[1.FT]

‘I will come outside.’ (Baadil Jamal 52)

(20)

- a. *in-e*                      *paadša*                      *buc*                      *đel-[imi]*  
3-ERG                      king                      oriental plane                      cut-[3.PAST]

‘He cut the king’s oriental plane.’ (Limpi Kiser 74)

b. *niin-in*                      *i-k<sup>h</sup>aran-[imi]*  
 Go-PTCP              3-late-[**3.PAST**]  
 ‘He was late.’ (Limpi Kiser 61)

The auxiliary verb which occurs after verbs in perfect, present, pluperfect, and imperfect (see Table 2) also always patterns with the nominative subject just as the suffix alone does. There are no instances where the auxiliary does not agree with the subject of the sentence. Also, in state of being constructions such as he is, she was, they are etc; the auxiliary verb is used as a stand-alone be-verb. A listing of be-verb realizations is given below in Table 3 and Table 4, again using the morphological analysis created by Anderson as a guide:

Table 3

*Be-verb Realizations in Present Past and Optative*

	Present		Past		Optative	
	SNG	PL	SNG	PL	SNG	PL
1 <sup>st</sup>	baa	baan	bayam	bam	başa	başan
2 <sup>nd</sup>	baa	baan	bam	bam	baş	başan
3 <sup>rd</sup> M	bai	baan	bam	bam	baş	başan
3 <sup>rd</sup> F	bo	baan	bom	bam	boş	başan
3 <sup>rd</sup> (bi)	bi	bien/bio	Bim	bim/biom	biş	bişan
3 <sup>rd</sup> (bila)	bila	bica	bilum	bicum	bişiş	biciş

### *Be-verb Realizations in Conditional*

Examples of nominative agreement in be verb constructions are given in (21) through (25). It is important to note here that state-of-being constructions like those below that use the be verbs are always intransitive. There is not a way to compare these constructions to possible transitive forms that have agents marked as ergative like there are in the above examples. This is merely a way to further show how the auxiliary verbs, be-verbs, and verb suffixes consistently and follow expected nominative agreement patterns.

- 29

(22) *hin paaḍša-an bam*  
 One king-INDF be.3.PAST  
 ‘There was a king.’ (Baadil Jamal 10)

(23) *guṭe minas-ulo ulo iṭe yoorkuw-e but ḍalṭas*  
 This story-in in that custom-GEN very beautiful  
*sirkuṣ-an bila*  
 miracle-INDF be.3.PRES  
 ‘There is a wonderful miracle in that custom.’ (Daddo Puno 11, Munshi 2012)

(24) *gakase peybilik bilum in-e ii-k*  
 Gakase peibilik be.3.PAST 3-GEN 3-name  
 ‘His name was Gakase Peibilik.’ (Daddo Puno 17)

(25) *mu-riin-um burum laqpis bilum*  
 3.F-hand-PTCP white handkerchief be.3.PAST  
 ‘There was a white handkerchief in her hand.’ (Baadil Jamal 90)

When looking at the agreement patterns of the suffix, a certain pattern arises. Intransitive verbs agree with the absolutive subject and transitive verbs agree with the ergative agent. In intransitive sentences the absolutive subject is S, and in transitive

constructions the ergative agent is A. Virtually all linguists are familiar with some visualization of case. The image in (26) below demonstrates the difference between nominative and absolutive systems:

$$(26) \quad \begin{array}{l} [S \ A]^{\text{Nominative}} \ [P]^{\text{Accusative}} \\ [S \ P]^{\text{Absolutive}} \ [A]^{\text{Ergative}} \end{array}$$

A simple analysis of the verb, and the one which reveals Burushaski's ergative noun marking and nominative verb agreement, names the suffix as having nominative agreement in all constructions. Again, I must stress that noun case marking is separate and acts independently from verb agreement in Burushaski and these two systems should be analyzed as separate phenomena rather than being dependent on one another. The suffix is only ever in agreement with the subject of intransitive sentences and agents of transitive sentences. I have not run across any examples in the texts of suffix agreement that runs contrary to my nominative analysis. The suffix is never absent except for imperative forms and nominalized forms which I give examples of in (27) and (28) shown below:

$$(27) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccc} un & men-an & baa & ke & but & maṭṭan & ni \\ 2 & \text{who-INDF} & \text{be.1.PRES} & \text{COMP} & \text{much} & \text{distance} & \text{go.IMP} \\ \text{'Whoever you are, go far away from here.'} & \text{(Baadil Jamal 33)} & & & & & \end{array}$$

- (28)      *ǰe      ɖaru-e      gane      a-t-aa-Ø-ya      baa*  
                  1      hunting-GEN for      NEG-d-1-*\*come*-1      AUX.1.PERF  
                  ‘I have not come for hunting.’ (Baadil Jamal 34)

#### 2.4.2 Verb Agreement Independence from Noun Marking

If verb agreement is related in any way to noun marking in Burushaski, then the presence or absence of the ergative marker on the agent might also affect the way that verb agreement is realized. In future tense where the ergative marker is used less, examples show agreement patterns acting independently of case marking. Transitive constructions which lack the ergative suffix on the agent maintain nominative verb agreement. The examples that I used to demonstrate the claimed ergativity split in future tense with elicited data also can be used to demonstrate this independence. (29a) and (29b) show a sentence with the ergative appearing in past tense and not appearing in future tense. Examples (30) through (32) continue to demonstrate expected nominative agreement patterns in other future tense constructions where the ergative marker /-e/ is absent:

- (29)
- a.    *ǰe-e      dasin    mu- yeec -[am]*<sup>Nominative Alignment</sup>  
                  1-ERG      girl      3.F-see- 1.PAST  
                  ‘I saw the girl.’



b. *je dasin mu-yeš -[am]*<sup>Nominative Alignment</sup>

1 girl 3.F- see-1.FT

‘I will see the girl.’

(30) *un in mu-cuč-[uma]*<sup>Nominative Alignment</sup>

2 3.F 3.F-marry-2.FUT

‘You will marry her.’ (Lorimer, 1935)

(31) *je ak<sup>h</sup>ol-e gu-ar đuro-an eč-[am]*<sup>Nominative Alignment</sup>

1 around-GEN 2-DAT work-INDF do-1.FT

‘I will do work for you here.’ (Limpi Kiser 47)

(32) *(je) k<sup>h</sup>uulto e-er eč-[am]*<sup>Nominative Alignment</sup>

(1) Today 3-DAT do-1.FUT

‘Today I will do it for you.’ (Limpi Kiser 6)

Examples (31) and (32) above are taken from the text Limpi Kiser and also display nominative subject alignment on the verb suffix in a transitive sentence that does not have ergative noun marking. It is evident in the above examples that changes to the case marking on the agent itself have no effect on the agreement alignments of the verb and should therefore be treated as separate from the prefix and suffix realizations.

Regardless of ergativity's presence or absence, nominative agreement alignments in the suffix are maintained throughout all constructions.

#### 2.4.3 Control and Coordination Case Patterns

In constructions with co-referential noun phrases such as “I did this while doing that” and “I did this and did that” subjects can only be controlled by other subjects. These tests show the structural case alignment of the language, which may differ from the surface case marking. In the case of a nominative language means that only the nominative case can be involved in these constructions. S and A can control and delete each other but P cannot be involved in that process. Languages which show absolutive structure follow the same rules, only in those languages the subject is S and P. Examples of this type of structural absolutive case can be seen in Dixon (1972, pp. 125-219), Foley and Van (1984, pp. 112-113), Comrie (1989, pp. 110-116), Kroeger (2004, pp. 282-307). Languages where there are splits in ergativity however, may display either absolutive or nominative subject internal structures. Warlpiri, a language verb and noun markings similar to those in Burushaski, has nominative control structures (Simpson, 1983; Simpson, 1991, pp. 155-161).

Examples (33) through (37) below were taken from the texts and show constructions where agreement appears only in one verb, and the participants of the unmarked verb must be inferred from the subject of the marked verb. I am showing here constructions where ergative agents control absolutive subjects and vice versa, which suggest that Burushaski has internal structures that group S and A together.

- (33) *teerum-an-ar paršat man-ai xanjar nu-ka-n*  
 that many-INDF-DAT appear become-3.PERF dagger PTCP-carry-PTCP  
 ‘He entered there while carrying a dagger.’ (Limpi Kiser 118)
- (34) *mu-yi čap ne đuuš-u bo*  
 3.F-son hide PTCP come out-3.F AUX.3.F.PERF  
 ‘She hid her son and came out.’ (Limpi Kiser 143)
- (35) *t<sup>h</sup>aan n-eŋ-an đuuš-u bo*  
 shove PTCP-do-PTCP come out-3.F AUX.3.F.PERF  
 ‘She shoved (him) and \_\_\_\_\_ came out.’ (Limpi Kiser 152)  
 \*she was shoved, and \_\_\_\_\_ came out (someone shoved (her) and she came out)
- (36) *no-s-qul žuč-u baan*  
 PTCP-CTRANS-burn come-3 AUX.3.PL.PERF  
 ‘Having burnt (him) they came back.’ (Munshi 2006 pp. 206)  
 \*having been burnt by him, they came back (him having burnt (them), they came back)

- (37) *in-e haal-ar ḡi-i-Ø-nin yuus mu-ḡel-imi*  
 3-ERG home-DAT ddV-*\*come*-3-PTC wife 3.F-hit-3.M.PAST  
 ‘He came home and hit his wife.’  
*\*she (his wife) came home and was hit. (She came home and he hit (her))*

We can see control and deletion patterns that have both absolutive arguments controlling ergative arguments, as well as ergative arguments controlling absolutive ones in (33) through (37). Looking at verb realizations in a sentence like (35), alternate readings such as, she was shoved, or someone shoved her and (she) came out which would have absolutive subject internal structures are incorrect. Also, in (36), the absolutive subject ‘they’ must be understood as being co-referential to the ergative noun phrase in the first sentence with the participial verb ‘burn.’ It cannot be read as being referential with the absolutive noun phrase ‘him’ which is not stated. The suffix of one verb which is left out in the constructions above is controlled by the subject of the other verb. The verb morphology, which only assigns grammatical subject suffixes to one of the co-referential clauses, shows nominative structural properties. In (37) there is ergative marking on the noun phrase, which belongs to the final inflected verb. The participial verb’s null noun phrase is then co-referential with an ergative noun phrase even though the verb ‘to come’ is intransitive and takes an absolutive subject.

## 2.5 Patient Agreement on the Verb Suffix

In this section I discuss constructions where the suffix may be analyzed as breaking the nominative control patterns which I have demonstrated throughout this

chapter. I attempt to show how these instances of patient agreement on the suffix do not break the nominative alignments and fit into my analysis. The two constructions are the pathetive voice from Morin and Tiffou (1988, pp. 510-514) and dative experiencer constructions from Munshi (2006, pp. 133-134).

### 2.5.1 The Pathetive Voice

Firstly, in Morin and Tiffou (1988) while discussing the possibility of a passive voice in Yasin Burushaski a special marked construction called the pathetive voice after Mel’cuk (1988) is described. In this construction the agent, which is always inanimate and marked with the ergative marker /-e/, remains stated and the patient, also always inanimate, is promoted to subject and has normal subject agreement on the verb suffix. Consider the examples below where pathetive constructions promote the patient with the regular active form in example (38a) and the Pathetive form in example (38b):

(38)

- a. *čumu-sel-aŋ-e*      *ǰe-e*    *gatu-nc*      *xeša-m*  
 fish-hook-PL-ERG    1-GEN cloth-PL      tear-PTCP  
*bica*  
 AUX.3.Past (bila class)

‘The fish hooks tore the clothes.’ (Morin & Tiffou, 1988, p. 511) (YB)

- b. *čumu-sel-aŋ-e      ĵe-e    gatu-nc   xeša-m      bien*  
 fish-hook-PL-ERG<sup>6</sup>   1-GEN cloth-PL tear-PTCP   AUX.3.Past (bi class)  
 ‘The clothes were torn by the fish hooks.’ (Morin & Tiffou, 1988, p. 511)  
 (YB)

Example (38) shows verb suffix change affecting the perceived subject of the sentence. The ergative noun phrase in the above pathetive construction is grammatically oblique, while semantically an agent. Morin and Tiffou (1988, p. 514) claim that these are marked constructions, though unusual, and the agent is not the subject of these constructions. It is rather the patient that is best read as subject here. I have not come across this construction in my Hunza data, but if I were to come across it, it still does not pose a problem to my analysis.

## 2.5.2 Experiencer Noun Phrases that Are Marked with the Dative

Another construction where what may seem to be the patient or object receives agreement on the verb suffix occurs with experiencer noun phrases that are marked with the dative. The noun phrases marked with /-re/ in both (39) and (40) below can be read as either dative obliques, or dative marked subjects. Dative subjects are familiar forms in South Asian languages (Butt, 2008; Munshi, 2006, pp. 133-134; Bhatia, 1990; Masica, 1976; Mishra, 1990; Verma & Mohanan, 1990). There are two possibilities here; one where the suffix and be-verb agreement is consistent with the case system described in this chapter, and another where the suffix verb agreement goes against the nominative

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<sup>6</sup> This may be INST rather than ERG. The glossing in Morin and Tiffou (1988) is not clear on this. It may be dialectal.

agreement analysis. These constructions are shown in Munshi (2006, pp. 133-134) and are reprinted below in examples (39) and (40). Notice how the verb suffix agrees with the zero marked absolutive.<sup>7</sup> If the dative is analyzed as the subject as in other dative subject constructions prevalent in South Asian languages then this may constitute non-subject agreement on the verb suffix:

- (39)      *ǰe-e-re*            *in*      *šua*      *yan-umo*  
                  1-GEN-DAT   3.F      good    feel-3.F.PAST  
                  ‘I liked her.’ (lit: ‘To me, she felt good.’) (Munshi, 2006, p. 133) (J&K)

- (40)      *ǰe-e-re*            *šuriyaar*      *ǰila*  
                  1-GEN-DAT   happiness      be.3.PRES<sup>happiness</sup>  
                  ‘I am happy.’ (lit: ‘To me, happiness is.’) (Munshi, 2006, p. 134) (J&K)

In order for the suffix and be-verb agreement alignments shown in (39) and (40) above to be consistent with the system I have proposed, then the grammatical subject of the above sentences should be the null marked noun phrases and not the dative experiencer noun phrases marked with /-re/. Some literature on the dative experiencer in other South Asian Languages has taken this stance. In Chelliah (1990) for example, the dative in Manipuri is said to be the logical subject but not the surface or grammatical

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<sup>7</sup> The Jammu and Kashmiri Burushaski which Munshi has documented the dative subjects here has undergone significant language contact and change from its neighbors. My Hunza Burushaski speaking consultant has confirmed that the constructions make sense, though there are some morpho-phonemic differences.

subject. Mishra (1990) and Pandharipande (1990) also claim that the dative is not the subject of the sentence. However, many claim that the evidence for dative subjects is substantial enough to rebuke non-subject claims (Masica, 1976; Verma & Mohanan, 1990; Bhatia, 1990). The main arguments for a subject reading of the dative experiencer are:

- Dative experiencers occupy the sentence initial subject position
- Reflexive pronouns can be co-referential with dative experiencers
- Dative experiencers can control deletion and reduction constructions

These three main arguments for the treatment of experiencer noun phrases that are marked with the dative as subjects are counter-argued with the following claims (Pandharipande, 1990; Mishra, 1990):

- Dative experiencers occupy the sentence initial position because of their prominence as animate noun phrases, and not because of their subject properties.
- It is claimed that referentials more naturally agree with non dative noun phrases in sentences with both a dative experiencer and an unmarked noun phrase.
- While dative experiencers can **control** deletion and reduction, they cannot **be controlled** in deletion and reduction constructions.



In the usage of the suffix throughout the language as a subject marker strongly implies that the zero marked noun phrase which has suffix agreement should be read as the subject of the sentence. However, to come to a real conclusion the forms in (39) and (40) need to be tested with native speakers. My consultant, a native speaker of Hunza Burushaski gave these examples in (41) and (42) with regard to the dative subjects. Notice that the translations treat the dative and the beneficiary or the recipient, rather than the subject or experiencer. In these sentences the suffix agrees with the null-marked noun phrase which is the subject of the sentence:

- (41)      *šuwā    ʔan-umo*  
               good    feel-3.F.PAST  
               ‘She looked good.’

- (42)      *ǰa-ar                in                šuwā ʔan-umo*  
               1-DAT            3.F.good            feel-3.F.PAST  
               ‘She looked good for me.’

The Hunza Burushaski translations for these forms differ from the Jammu and Kashmiri forms that Munshi (2006) was working with. Namely, the dative noun phrase is read as an adjunct and a beneficiary. However, the forms in (41) and (42) might be ambiguous in the Hunza Dialect and context may create a translation similar to the dative

subject ones in (39) and (40).<sup>8</sup> In addition to native speaker intuition that treats the dative experiencer as a removable secondary object, Bashir (1985, p. 17) shows similar constructions in Yasin Burushaski and the absolutive noun phrase there is classified as the subject. These examples from Yasin Burushaski show many of the same semantic features as dative experiencer, but the experiencer itself is absent, and is only represented through pronominal prefix marking on the verb. The examples are reprinted in (43) and (44) below. Similar experiencer marking with the prefix is also present in Hunza Burushaski, shown in

- (43)      *xus*      *go-eč-ila*  
              cough 2-do-3.PRES<sup>cough</sup>  
              ‘You have a cough.’ (lit: a cough is (affecting you)) (Bashir, 1985, p. 17)  
              (YB)

- (44)      *ite*      *askura suua*      *nas*      *a-cic-i*      *bila*  
              that      flower sweet      smell      1-give-3      AUX.3.PRES<sup>flower</sup>  
              ‘That flower smells sweet to me.’ (Bashir, 1985, p. 17) (YB)

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<sup>8</sup> Ambiguity also appears with dative agreement on the prefix and beneficiary agreement as discussed in chapter 3.5.2. Specifically, Hunza Burushaski has a wider usage of the beneficiary reading with dative noun phrases. Chapter 3.5 gives further examples of how Hunza Burushaski treats dative noun phrases as beneficiaries.

- (45)      *un-e*              *buk*    *gu-xulǰ-i*              *bi*  
                  2-GEN              throat 2-hurt-3              AUX.3.PRES  
                  ‘My throat hurts.’ (lit: ‘My throat is hurting me.’) (HB)

The presence of a different expression of experiencers that occupy very similar semantic categories as the experiencer noun phrases that are marked with the dative as shown in (43) through (45) suggest that Burushaski has been affected by its neighbors, and that the dative experiencer construction has been introduced to the language by contact with neighboring dative experiencer languages. Also, I have found in the texts examples which show different verbs meaning ‘to know’ using different constructions. These examples are given in (46):

- (46)
- a.    *ǰe-e*              *ma-yeen-am*    *a-pim*  
                  1-ERG              2.PL-know-1    Neg-AUX.3.PAST  
                  ‘I did not know you.’ (Lit: ‘I knew you, not.’) (Baadil Jamal 70)
- b.    *a-ar*    *lel*              *a-pim*  
                  1-DAT know    NEG-AUX.3.PAST  
                  ‘I did not have knowledge.’ (Lit: ‘To me, knowledge wasn’t.’) (Baadil Jamal 70)

The evidence points toward the dative experiencer construction in Burushaski as being an emerging feature, having been introduced by its areal neighbors. Very similar semantic categories of verbs can express experiencer noun phrases with the prefix as is shown in Yasin Burushaski by Bashir (1985). Also, the list of verbs which demonstrate dative experiencer marking is exceptionally short.<sup>9</sup> Future works on experiencer noun phrases that are marked with the dative in Burushaski may very well show an emerging pattern, and the dative constructions will then be seen as spreading in usage. Because I have so few examples of experiencer noun phrases that are marked with the dative in my data, it is difficult to say for sure what is happening here. Native speaker intuition, the presence of other grammatical experiencer markings on the prefix, and the brevity of verbs that pattern with a dative experiencer for the moment indicates that the dative is being treated as an adjunct. However, this is only true for the data I have seen with Hunza Burushaski. More tests on dative control structures needs to be done, and as the dative construction becomes more widespread, its analysis could change.

## 2.6 Conclusion

Burushaski internal structures show patterns which support parallel systems where ergative and absolutive marking exist only as morphological features on the noun phrases themselves. Verbs do not show any tendency to be influenced by the presence or absence of ergative markers on the noun phrases and act independently and with nominative alignments from any sort of noun marking which might be present. The way in which

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<sup>9</sup> The list given in Munshi (2006, p. 128) has 5 verbs of this type. Four of those verbs utilize complex noun-verb constructions with the /bila/ be verb (/d̪ila/ in Jammu Burushaski) and one with the verb ‘feel’ /-yan-/. In my data I have only seen one instance of the dative experiencer with the verb ‘to know’ /lel/, which is one of the verbs in Munshi’s list.

Burushaski handles control and deletion also shows internal structures that align in the same way that the verb suffix does. That is, it allows for nominative alignments in these constructions rather than absolutive alignments. Thus the syntactic structure of Burushaski treats intransitive S and transitive A equally according to (33) through (37). While the suffix has been described as having subject agreement in other analyses, I have not seen any comparisons to other systems which have an accepted dual case marking system along noun marking and verb agreement. The Warlpiri data shows how similarly the verb in Burushaski pattern with those in a more well-known example of this type of dual system. Regardless of any other type of influence which may have an effect on the suffix, it remains steadfast in its nominative alignment. Ergativity on the noun, animacy, and tense do not exercise any influence on the suffixes realizations. It seems evident from the data that I have that a separate and nominative pattern of case marking on the verb is the most well fitting and logical assessment of Burushaski verbs available. At the very least, syntactic structure is nominative while noun morphology is ergative which creates an environment where verb suffix alignments differ significantly from the appearance or disappearance of case marking on the noun.

## CHAPTER 3

### SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF VERB PREFIXES

#### 3.1 Introduction

A unique result of an analysis that acknowledges Burushaski's different systems of case marking and agreement is how the nominative suffix exists in opposition to the prefix of the verb, which is said to agree with the absolutive noun subject of Burushaski constructions (Munshi, 2006, pp. 129-141; Munshi, 2012). It is also described as appearing in agreement only with animate noun phrases in Munshi (2006, pp. 130-132) and as following active language patterns of agreement in Bashir (1985, pp. 9-12). There may be an urge to claim that the verb carries a prefix which patterns in absolutive agreements and a suffix which patterns with nominative agreement, though I plan to show how that analysis is not satisfactory. I also use principles of differential object marking (Escandell-Vidal, 2009; Haspelmath, 2005; Hoop & Malchukov, 2007; McGregor, 1998; Aissen, 2003) and efficiency (Haspelmath, 2005, p. 9) to help explain the underlying motivations of prefix realizations.

In this chapter I first show the unique instances of double marking. This is where the verb suffix and the verb prefix both agree with the same noun phrase. I then explain the evidence which shows that the verb prefix should not be thought of as a syntactic marker, especially with a suffix that aligns nominative, but rather as a semantic one. With the semantic agreement patterns in mind, I explore how the prefix appears in intransitive

and transitive constructions from the texts, while naming the semantic constraints that determine those prefix realizations. Lastly, I use semantic constraints that I have devised from looking at the textual data to compare Burushaski's prefix in terms of differential object marking. As can be seen in the chapter below, the prefix seems to show up when the object (syntactically speaking) or the affected party (semantically speaking) is an unexpected noun phrase. The standards for expectedness come from Haspelmath (2005, p. 9) where the object is expected to be an inanimate patient of the subject. Constructions that break this expectedness are marked. Animate objects or patients as well as affected or patient like subjects are unexpected. The conclusion drawn from the following analyses shows the function of the prefix as a semantic rather than a syntactic marker.

Before beginning, I have provided a listing of prefixes and their agreement in Table 5. The variation in vowel realization that can be seen in the table is caused by stress placement. See Anderson (2007, p. 1234; 1997) and Tiffou and Morin (1982) for a more detailed explanation of the variation in Burushaski prefix realizations and stress influence.

Table 5

*Pronominal Prefix Agreement Patterns*

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	a-	mi-/me-
2 <sup>nd</sup>	gu-/go-	ma-
3 <sup>rd</sup> M/bi/bila	i-/e-	u-/o-
3 <sup>rd</sup> F	mu-/mo-	u-/o-

### 3.2 Double Marking

In certain constructions with an animate patient that is marked on the verb prefix Burushaski's double case system creates instances where the verb would seem to align with both absolutive (in the prefix) and nominative (in the suffix) tendencies simultaneously. Examples (47) through (52) below show this double marking. This pattern is in contrast with the system defined earlier in section 2.4 where the verb acts separately from the marking which appears on the nouns. There does not seem to be a framework available that can account for this type of pattern and it does not seem clean to refer to the verb affixes as having both absolutive and nominative patterns of agreement. The conclusion drawn is that this double marking is due to semantic overlap, where the syntactic subject, marked by the suffix, is also the semantic patient and thus marked by the prefix:

- (47)      *garkuy-anc*                      *u-man-uman*  
Marriageable-PL      3.PL-become-3.PL.PAST  
'They became marriageable.' (Badil Jamal 14)

- (48)      *sa*      *ṭʰalekuc*      *ṭʰap*      *ṭʰalekuc*      *e-yay bim*  
sun      seven.days      night      seven.days      3-sleep AUX.3.PAST  
'He (the monster) slept for seven days and seven nights.' (Limpi Kiser 96)



- (49) *a-kayuwa ye ĵe a-war-a baa*  
 1-children VOC 1 1.SNG-tired-1.SNG AUX.1.PRES  
 ‘My children, I am tired.’ (Daddo Puno 47)

- (50) *mu-ci-ate i-waal-imi*  
 3.F-COM-on 3-lost-3.PAST (Mattum ke Burum 39)  
 ‘He was lost on her.’ (Along the lines of ‘He became lost in her.’)

- (51) *altit raṭ-ulo go-rš-a baa*  
 Altit plain-LOC 2-drunk-2 AUX.2.PRES  
 ‘You are drunk in the Altit plain.’ (Matum ke Burum 31)

- (52) *ṭil mo-ol-umo*  
 Everything 3.F-forget-3.F.PAST  
 ‘She forgot everything.’ (Limpi Kiser 113)

### 3.3 Semantic Realizations

While the prefix does often agree with the absolutive subject, in Pattern 5 of Munshi’s verb agreement analysis the prefix does not follow expected patterns and instead agrees with the dative recipient of the transitive construction. In these constructions what is analyzed as the absolutive subject actually has no agreement on the verb at all (Munshi, 2006, pp. 138-140). While the suffix follows nominative patterns of

agreement, the prefix itself adheres to certain constraints which are purely semantic regardless of any type of syntactic structures. These semantic constraints define the usage of verb prefixes rather than syntactic case marking and agreement. Patterns which exhibit prefix agreement with dative recipient as described in section 2.2 as Pattern 5 (Munshi, 2006) receive agreement on the prefix. Example (53) below shows this type of recipient agreement. Also, notice in (53b) that trying to follow absolutive agreement patterns on the prefix creates an unacceptable sentence.

(53)

a. *in-e*                      *in-e-re*                      *kiṭaab-an*                      *e-uč-umo*  
      3-ERG                      3-GEN-DAT    book-INDF                      3-give-3.PAST  
      ‘She gave him a book.’ (Munshi 2006 139) (J&K)

b. \**in-e*                      *in-e-re*                      *kiṭaab-an*                      *Ø-uč-umo*  
      \*3-ERG                      3-GEN-DAT    book-INDF                      give-3.PAST  
      \*She gave him a book

The prefix in (53) aligns with the semantic recipient which is marked directly on the noun with the dative case marker. In this and other constructions, the prefix aligns with semantics. There are also constructions where the agent itself can receive agreement on the prefix. Take for example this instance of prefix experiencer marking in (54) below. The prefix agrees with the subject of the sentence which is also marked directly as ergative.

Similarly to (53), trying to have absolutive agreement creates an ungrammatical sentence in (54b):

(54)

<i>a.</i>	<i>u-e</i>	<i>ǰe-e</i>	<i>čaya</i>	<i>ǰ-o-yal-uman</i>
	3 PL-ERG	1-GEN	word	d.3.PL-listen-3.PL.PAST
	‘They heard me.’ (they listened to me)			

<i>b.</i>	<i>*u-e</i>	<i>ǰe-e</i>	<i>čaya</i>	<i>d̥-i-yal-uman</i>
	*3.PL-ERG	1-GEN	word	d-3-listen-3.PL.PAST
	*They heard [my words] Prefix Agreement			

Example (54) has the prefix agreeing with the third person plural according to the prefix chart in Table 5. Notice how the agent bears the ergative marker but still has agreement on the verb pronominal prefix. If you remove the stimulus /*ʃe-e čaya/* from the sentence, as I have done in example (55) below, then the ergative marker on the noun is also dropped and you are left with a sentence that looks like other intransitive sentences which exhibit the double marking phenomenon:

(55) *u d-o-yal-uman*  
 3.PL d-3.PL-listen-3.PL.PAST  
 ‘They heard.’ (they listened)

Experiencer and recipient agreement conform to a [+animate] constraint on Burushaski prefix realizations discussed in Munshi (2006, pp. 130-132). When agreeing with the patient, the [+animate] constraint is maintained, suppressing the prefix from appearing in constructions with inanimate patients. So far, prefix agreement is predicted by the following semantic constraints: [+animate, patient, recipient, experiencer].

Some verbs, such as the verb ‘eat’ are almost always associated with inanimate patients and thus do not trigger verb agreement. However, when the patient of the agent is changed from inanimate to animate with the same verb, the prefix appears, agreeing with the animate patient. Munshi uses the following examples from her dissertation, reprinted as (56) and (57) below, to show how the animacy constraint on patients works to deny prefix realizations with inanimate patients but allows animate prefix agreement on the same verb:

(56)      *mi-e*              *p<sup>hi</sup>iti*      *ši-uman*

3.PL-ERG      bread   eat-3.PL.PAST

‘We ate bread.’ (Munshi 2006 pp. 136) (J&K)

(57)      *muuṭu*              *um-e*              *ja*      *a-ši-ču*              *ba*

Now              2-ERG              1              1-eat-2.PRES   AUX.2.PRES

‘Now that you are eating me.’ (Munshi 2006 pp. 136) (J&K)

Another example uses the verb swallow. This verb is also usually associated with inanimate patients. Like ‘eat’, ‘swallow’ also exhibits prefix agreement when used in conjunction with an animate patient. The animate patient triggering agreement with swallow in (58) below resembles the structure of (56) and (57) above:

- (58)      *je*      *kʰoɬ*      *paaḍša-ar*      *e-š-am,*      *huup*      *go-č-i*  
              1      this      king-DAT      3-say-1.FT,      swallow      2-do-3.FT  
              ‘I will tell this to the king, and he will swallow you.’ (Limpi Kiser 110)

Macabre though it may be, the above examples in (56), (57), and (58) show how the patient of verbs that have an expected inanimate patient is only indicated on the prefix of the verb in instances where the patient is animate<sup>10</sup>. Bashir (1985, pp. 13-18) describes the prefix as being in agreement with the most affected participant. The examples shown in this section show how the prefix agrees with noun phrases that are not absolute, but are rather semantically affected by the verb. It is with this framework in mind that I look at the stories and try to develop a semantic representation of the prefix.

### 3.4 Intransitive Prefix

In 3.4 I look closely at my data to see the distribution of prefixes in a natural story telling discourse noting constraints which determine prefix realizations first in intransitive sentences, and secondly in transitive sentences. I catalogued each instance of prefix usage in the story *Baadil Jamal* where there were 68 instances of the prefix being

<sup>10</sup> See Haspelmath (2005) for more examples on expectedness. Also, chapter 3.5 in this thesis reviews certain aspects of expectedness in relation to the Burushaski pronominal prefix.

used; of those 68, 51 were the affected party of an agent in a transitive sentence and the remaining 17 prefixes were found in intransitive constructions, where the subject was double marked on the verb prefix and on the suffix. The numbers are given below in Table 6:

Table 6

*Number of Prefixes used in Baadil Jamal*

Transitive	Intransitive	Total
51	17	68
75%	25%	100%

#### 3.4.1 Intransitive Prefixes in the Texts

In an analysis of the story *Baadil Jamal*, The distribution of double marking constructions occurred almost entirely between two verbs, the light verb ‘become’ /man/ and the irregular verb ‘come’ which was discussed in chapter 1.2 as being formed without a stem. These two verbs accounted for 16 of the 17 intransitive prefix constructions. The one exception to this is the verb /was/, which means ‘to be left behind.’ It is shown in (59) below:

- (59)      *šii-ce*              *du-was-uman*  
             Hearth-COM    dV-leave.behind-3.PL.PAST  
             ‘They were left behind at the hearth.’ (Baadil Jamal 80)

It should be noted here that the  $\text{d}\text{u}$  prefix in (59) above is most likely triggering vowel assimilation, especially since the verb stem begins with a /w/.  $\text{d}\text{u}$ -prefixes are followed by an ambiguous vowel, and sometimes the vowel causes instances where agreement might be miss-assigned due to ambiguous vowel assimilation. Take (60) for example, where there is clearly no prefix agreement according to the chart in Table 5, even though example (60c) and (60d) may appear to agree with the third person plural subject /u-/:

(60)

a. *ǰahaaz*            *dǰu-wal-imi*

airplane            dV-fly-3.PAST

‘The airplane is flying.’

b. *balas*    *dǰu-wal-imi*

Bird    dV-fly-3.PAST

‘The bird flew.’

c. *bala-šo*            *dǰu-wal-imie*

bird-PL            dV-fly-3.PL.PAST

‘The birds flew.’

d. *u        ĵahaaz-ulo    du-wal-uman*

3.PL   airplane-LOC   dV-fly-3.PL.PAST

‘They flew in the airplane.’

There would seem to be agreement on the verb prefix (60c) and (60d), where /u-/ appears to agree with the third person plural on the verb prefix. However, when looking at the prefix in examples (60a) and (60b) which always appear as /u-/ and comparing them to the form found in (60c) and (60d), it cannot be stated confidently that this is the case and that there is actual prefix agreement in ‘fly.’ Because of the /w/ in the verb stem, it is more likely that this agreement in the above examples is actually caused by assimilation rather than agreement, and carries no actual meaning. The *ɖ*-prefix is followed by a vowel which harmonizes with the stem or the prefix and in this case the glide /w/ seems to be triggering the /u-/ found after the *ɖ*-prefix. The same may be said for (59) and so it is not counted as an instance of double marking.

### 3.4.2 Unergative/Unaccusative Constraints

All intransitive constructions from the texts which have prefix agreement with the subject are either state of being constructions or changes in state of being constructions. However, when the verb is describing an action that the animate subject of an intransitive sentence is actively doing, something along the lines of walking, running, going, flying etc, there is no prefix on the verb and thus no double marking. Consider the following examples in (61) through (65) where the subject is an active participant in the action and



cannot be labeled as being affected by the verb in question. There is no prefix in these cases.

(61)

a. *i-gurč-imi*

3-submerge-3.PAST

‘He drowned.’ (Bashir, 1985, p. 16) (YB)

b. *gurč-imi*

Submerge-3.PAST

‘He dived (to clean his body).’ (Bashir, 1985, p. 16) (YB)

(62) *in      ḍaya-mo*

3.F      hide-3.F.PAST

‘She hid.’

(63) *je      muarar      ak<sup>h</sup>ole    huruš-a      baa*

1      forever      here    stay-1      AUX.1.PRES

‘I stay here forever.’ (Baadil Jamal 38)

- (64)      *um-e*              *šugulo*              *gaarc-imi*  
                  2-GEN              friend              run-3.PAST  
                  ‘Your friend ran.’ (Munshi, 2006, p. 130) (J&K)

- (65)      *balas*    *du-wal-imi*  
                  Bird    dV-fly-3.PAST  
                  ‘The bird flew.’

Examples (61a) and (61b) from Bashir (1985, p. 16) especially show the dichotomy between prefixed and non-prefixed verbs, where the absence of the prefix in (61b) shows the agency of the subject. What these patterns show is that the prefix in intransitive sentences appears on the verb and agrees with the subject of unaccusative verbs but it does not appear on the verb or agree with the subject of unergative verbs. Unaccusative verbs are intransitive verbs where the subject is not an agent and unergative verbs are intransitive verbs where the subject acts as an agent or has some sort of intent or initiation with the action being performed.<sup>11</sup> This also points to semantic control over prefix agreement, as unaccusative and unergative are differentiated only by the semantic category of the subject’s agentivity.


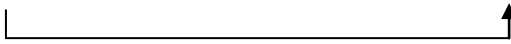
Looking back at instances where the prefix and suffix both agree with the subject of intransitive sentences in (47) through (52), it can be seen that those overlaps are due to these semantic constraints on the prefix, rather than the overlap of absolutive and

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<sup>11</sup> See Wilson (1996) for another discussion of unaccusative and unergative influence in Burushaski.

nominative cases which was my hypothesis going in to this study. There are no unergative sentences that I found which exhibit prefix agreement on the verb. The analysis which I now use when working with the verb prefix is purely semantic and I do not consider it a syntactic marker. In intransitive constructions it is very possible, as seen in examples (47) through (52), for the effected participant to also be the subject of the sentence. This overlap has led to the prefix being marked absolutive. The hierarchy of affectedness in Burushaski allows for plenty of object and intransitive subject agreement in the prefix, but the seemingly incompatible classes of agent and patient mean that an affected agent is far less likely to show up in the discourse. I do have one example of an agent that is also the affected argument of the construction in (54) a sentence that is completely acceptable. This creates an environment where an absolutive classification of the prefix becomes tempting. Simply adjusting the analysis to allow for a purely semantic prefix classification rather than a syntactic one calls for the structures of intransitive sentences to be re-written as (66a) and (66b) below:

(66)

- a. [Sentence Absolutive NP (Unacc animate)-VERB<sup>Unaccusative</sup> -SUB]
- 
- b. [Sentence Absolutive NP Ø-VERB<sup>Unergative</sup> -SUB]
- 

### 3.4.3 Categories of Affectedness

Prefixes align themselves with animate participants who are somehow being affected by the verb, and never with animate participants who are actively involved in doing the verb but not the main affected party. The unergative and unaccusative contrast above clearly demonstrates this fact within intransitive constructions. The three semantically affected groups which I have seen in my data and texts are shown below in (67), ranked by number of appearances in the texts:

(67)	<patient>	}	affected
	<recipient>		
	<experiencer>		

### 3.4.4 Causative Influence

In causative constructions the prefix agrees with the causee of the sentence with very high regularity. I have not found examples in my texts of the prefix agreeing with something other than the causee. Semantically the causee is highly affected and this affectedness is reflected in the consistent agreement of the verb prefix with the causee. In fact, in many causative constructions, the prefix itself is the sole indicator of the causative constructions. In these constructions causation is indicated by lengthening the vowel of the pronominal prefix as shown in (68), (69), and (70) below.

- (68) *garkuy-anc*                      *n-u-man-in*                      *yuwa* *ḡamši*  
 Marriageable-PL              PTCP-3.PL-become-PTCP      sons      choose  
*oo-t-imī*  
**3.PL.CAUS**-do-3.PAST  
 ‘Becoming marriageable, he made his sons choose.’ (Baadil Jamal 15)

- (69) *es*      *mo-qaṭ*              *yaare* *moo-yan-ai*  
 that      3-armpit              down      **3.F.CAUS**-take-3  
 ‘He put it under her armpit.’ (he made her take it) (Limpi Kiser 99)

- (70) *leel*                      *a-moo-t-um*  
 find.out              NEG-**3.F.CAUS**-do-NMLZ  
 ‘Not letting her know that.’ (Limpi Kiser 100)

An additional marker in Burushaski that signifies a causative is applied to intransitive constructions is the /s-/ prefix and is analyzed as a causative transitiviser. When the /s-/ transitiviser is affixed to an unergative verb, the result is a transitive causative sentence where the verb prefix, similarly to the examples above, is in agreement with the causee of the construction. Example (71a) shows a regular unergative construction, and (71b) shows the prefix appearing in the causative variant.

(71)

a. *ɖaya-umo*

hide-3.F.PAST

‘She hid.’

b. *moo-s-ɬaq-am*

3.F.CAUS-CTRAN-hide-1.PAST

‘I made her hide.’

Being made transitive with the /s-/ transitiviser, the construction can no longer be classified as unergative, and thus receives affected animate argument marking on the prefix just as any other transitive construction does, following the constraints listed in section 3.4.3. The /s-/ prefix may also be attached to unaccusative verbs, and the result is consistent with other transitive forms where the animate causee is marked on the prefix of the verb. Compare the two forms below in (72) and (73) for contrasts between unaccusative verbs without the /s-/ transitiviser and unaccusative verbs with the /s-/ transitiviser:

(72)

a. *ɖ-i-man-am*

d-3-become-3.PFCT

‘He was born.’ (limpi 114)

- b. *in-e*                      *hiles-an*                      *d̥-e-s-man-umo*  
 3.F-ERG                      boy-INDF                      d-3-CTHAN-become-3.F.PAST  
 ‘She gave birth to a boy.’

(73)

- a. *mu-waal-umo*  
 3-lose-3.PAST  
 ‘She was lost.’
- b. *mo-s-pal-am*  
 3.F-CTHAN-hid-1.PAST  
 ‘I lost her.’

Affected argument agreement can be shown in the causative constructions in (72) and (73). The prefix remains in agreement with the affected party when the causative /s-/ is added. Also, when forms such as the unergative shown in (71) above have an affected argument introduced by using a causative, the prefix is triggered and its agreement follows all expected paradigms. The /s-/ causative transitivity marker particularly shows the semantics of prefix agreement in (71a) and (71b) where it is used in conjunction with the regular short vowel prefix.

### 3.5 Transitive Prefix

#### 3.5.1 Agreement in the Texts

The transitive verbs that have prefix agreement in the stories are overwhelmingly patterning in agreement with animate patients in the texts; though there were four examples of animate recipient agreement rather than patient agreement on the verb prefix in *Baadil Jamal*. Two instances of prefix agreement appeared with the verb ‘to give’, and two with the verb ‘to show.’ An example of each is given below in (74) and (75) where the prefix is in agreement with the recipient:

- (74)      *xuḍaa-e*      *umur*      *gu-č<sup>h</sup>i-ṣ*  
God-ERG      age      2-give-OPT  
‘May god give you long life.’ (Baadil Jamal 5)
- (75)      *i-riin-um*      *iṭe*      *ḡ<sup>h</sup>armuk*      *moo-lṭir-imi*  
3-hand-PTCP      that      bow      3.F-show-3.M.PAST  
‘He showed her the bow in his hand.’ (Baadil Jamal 71)

#### 3.5.2 Semantic Constraints on Transitive Prefix

In the data that I analyzed, animate patient and animate recipient were the only two semantic roles that the prefix agreed with. All other roles had no prefix. This is in contrast with regular absolutive alignments, where the absolutive case would appear on the intransitive subject and transitive object, regardless of semantic role. The prefix is



highly dependent on these semantic categories, and these categories themselves outweigh any tendency for traditional absolutive agreement alignments to show themselves in the data. A symbolic representation of the prefix is given below in (76):

(76)        {[Animate patient],[Animate Recipient],[Animate Experiencer]}-VERB

Written out, there are four different scenarios present in my data which determine the presence and agreement patterns of the verb prefix. Ranked in order of frequency, the four different scenarios are given below:

- 1        the prefix agrees with the animate patient
- 2        in theme/recipient constructions, the prefix agrees with the animate recipient
- 3        in stimulus/experiencer constructions, the prefix agrees with the animate  
          experiencer
- 4        if none of these requirements are met, there is no prefix

The prefix first agrees with an animate patient as is the case in the majority of constructions. Assuming that there is no animate patient in the construction, the prefix then agrees with the recipient. Finally, the prefix agrees with the experiencer. If at least one of these categories is not present, then there is no prefix at all. The prefix does not agree with the theme, beneficiary, or stimulus (Bashir, 1985; Morin & Tiffou, 1988). Both used the term beneficiary to refer to any recipient in their analyses. I make a

distinction between recipients which are considered the most effected party of the construction, and beneficiaries which are not as affected as the patients. The recipients are arguments of the verb, while the beneficiaries are not. Supplementing the textual data with elicited data, it can be seen that beneficiaries do not show agreement in the same way that recipients do in (74) and (75) above. Examples (77) through (83) show beneficiaries being treated as adjuncts rather than arguments and not receiving any prefix agreement:

- (77)      *in-e*              *in-ar*              *hayanan*              *gan-umo*  
              3-ERG              3-DAT              gift              buy-3.F.PAST  
              ‘She bought a gift for him.’ (Daddo Puno 48)

- (78)      *je-e*              *go-ar*              *kaman*              *şapik*    *dang*    *eğ-am*  
              1-ERG              2-DAT              some              bread    cook    do-1.PAST  
              ‘I cooked some bread for you.’

- (79)      *mi-e*              *aḷa*    *me-ar*              *başcan*              *ḡic-ai*  
              3.PL-GEN    father    3.PL-DAT    gifts              bring-3.PERF  
              ‘Our father has brought gifts for us.’ (Daddo Puno 48)

(80) *ḡaa sesan ḡu-waas-ila ke go-ar eč-am*  
 And what dV-remain-3.PRES COMP 2-DAT do-1.FT  
 ‘And I will tell the remainder of these stories for you.’ (Baadil Jamal 4)

(81) *(ḡe) kʰuultʰo e-er eč-am*  
 (1) Today 3-DAT do-1.FUT  
 ‘Today I will do it for you.’ (Limpi Kiser 6)

(82) *ḡe akʰol-e gu-ar ḡuro-an eč-am*  
 1 around-GEN 2-DAT work-INDF do-1.FT  
 ‘I will do work for you here.’ (Limpi Kiser 47)

(83) *ḡe ḡuro-an eč-am*  
 1 work-INDF do-1.FT  
 ‘I will do work.’

Structurally, the constructions in (77) through (83) above treat the beneficiary as an adjunct, and the verb’s argument structure does not include the beneficiary. In (82) for example, it can be seen that the actual sentence structure, as compared to that in (83), does not include the beneficiary ‘for you’ and consists of only the agent/patient dichotomy. The verbs can be divided into their respective categories as follows in (84), with one set

of verbs having a simple agent patient structure where the beneficiary is not included and the other set having either a three agent structure or an experiencer, stimulus structure:

(84)	Buy: <Agent, Patient>	Give: <Agent, Recipient, Theme>
	Bring: <Agent, Patient>	Show: <Agent, Recipient, Theme>
	Cook: <Agent, Patient>	Hear: <Experiencer, Stimulus>
	Do: <Agent, Patient>	Put: <Agent, Recipient, Theme>

Sentences in which the beneficiary is not part of a recipient/theme structure like with the verbs buy, cook, and bring do not show any prefix marking at all. However, Bashir (1985, pp. 11-13) shows in her data instances where adding a beneficiary to the sentence triggers agreement on the verb prefix, contrary to the patterns that I have come across in the texts. In examples (85) and (86) below, notice that the prefix agrees with the beneficiary. We can double check agreement with the prefix forms shown in Table 5.

(85)	<i>a-au</i>	<i>aa-s-qan-ai</i>
	1-father	1-CTRAN-kill-3.PERF
	'He has killed my father for me.' (Bashir 1985 13) (YB)	

(86)

a. *in-e*                      *je-e*                      *syuqa de-sil-imi*  
3-ERG                      1-GEN                      cloak dV-wet-3.PAST

‘He wet my cloak.’ (Bashir 1985 11) (YB)

b. *in-e*                      *je-e*                      *syuqa da-a-sil-imi*  
3-ERG                      1-GEN                      cloak dV-1-wet-3.PAST

‘He wet my cloak for me.’ (Bashir 1985 11) (YB)

The types of beneficiary realizations on the prefix shown in (85) and (86) above have not occurred in my data. In-fact, as shown in (77) through (83), adding a beneficiary did not trigger agreement at all in my data. Many of the instances where beneficiaries did not trigger agreement are with the verb ‘do’, but the verbs ‘eat’, ‘bring’, and ‘buy’ also did not trigger any agreement when beneficiaries were added in the texts. It is possible that certain verbs, or certain beneficiaries, trigger agreement while others do not. It is also possible that there might be dialectical differences between the Yasin dialect that Bashir was working with and the Hunza dialect that I have been working with. As a matter of fact, Bashir (1985, p. 12) does state that the beneficiary prefix agreement in Hunza Burushaski is ambiguous, and needs textual information to avoid confusion. Nevertheless, the overall semantic influence over prefix realizations remains the dominating feature of the pronominal prefix. It would be worth while to investigate the factors that may account for this discrepancy in prefix realizations further. The beneficiary agreement shown by

Bashir, if found in the Hunza dialect, would only add to semantic readings of the pronominal prefix.

Understanding this, the overall semantic category which triggers prefix agreement is when the affected party is an animate argument. Looking again at forming a simple representation of the verb and its agreement patterns in Burushaski, a new form develops that encompasses the entirety of Burushaski verb constructions that can be expressed in one statement shown in (87) below:

(87)        [... (Affected Animate Argument)-VERB-(Subject)]

This verb structure can account for the vast majority of constructions encountered in the data. It also clearly and cleanly demonstrates the different case systems in Burushaski that exist between noun and verb case marking and agreement. Burushaski sentences look like two different systems were mashed together into one; the arguments were taken from an ergative language, and the verbs were taken from a nominative language.

### 3.6 Semantic Constraints and Surprise Marking

The generalizations made regarding the unergative/unaccusative constraints on intransitive double marking constructions, and the affected animate argument constraint, show a pattern where Burushaski pronominal prefixes indirectly mark unexpected noun phrases. Speakers expect that objects will be inanimate and that subjects will not be the affected party of a construction (Haspelmath, 2005, p. 9). I refer to these unexpected

noun phrases as surprises.<sup>12</sup> Namely, animacy surprises where the object is animate and affected surprises where the subject of the sentence is also the patient or affected party.

### 3.6.1 The Animacy Surprise

Speakers have certain expectations with regard to the participants in any construction. These expectations are motivated by the frequency of realizations. For example, it is more frequent to have an inanimate direct object, thus it is more expected. In this way speakers are surprised to see animate direct objects (Haspelmath, 2005, p. 9). The affected animate argument constraint conforms to this expectedness. When there is an animate object in a construction, that animacy constitutes an animacy surprise and is thus marked with the pronominal prefix. In the transitive sentences that I have recorded each instance of prefix usage could constitute animacy surprise marking. Looking back on (56) and (57), which are reprinted below as (88) and (89), we can see that eating an inanimate object is expected, and eating an animate object is an animacy surprise:

#### EXPECTED

- (88)      *mi-e*              *p<sup>hi</sup>iti*      *Ø-ši-uman*  
                  3.PL-ERG      bread      Ø-eat-3.PL.PAST  
                  ‘We ate **bread**.’ (Munshi 2006 pp. 136) (J&K)

---

<sup>12</sup> Surprises are generally referred to by the terms differential object marking and differential case marking (Haspelmath, 2005; Escandell-Vidal, 2009; Hoop & Malchukov, 2007).

SURPRISE!

(89)	<i>muuṭu</i>	<i>um-e</i>	<i>ǰa</i>	<i>a-ṣi-ču</i>	<i>ba</i>
	Now	2-ERG	1	1-eat-2.PRES	AUX.2.PRES

‘Now that you are eating **me**.’ (Munshi 2006 pp. 136) (J&K)

Another question to ask with regard to animacy surprises in Burushaski is whether the semantic category of theme, which does not receive agreement based on semantic constraints, might receive prefix agreement when an animate argument is the theme. This needs to be tested in future works.

### 3.6.2 The Affected Surprise

Another expectation of speakers is that the affected party of the sentence will be the direct object of some agent. Again, this expectedness is motivated by frequency of use. When there is a situation where the affected party of the construction is also the subject, as is the case in unaccusative sentences in which the subject is double marked on the verb, then that surprise is also marked with pronominal prefix agreement on the verb. The unergative and unaccusative constraints discussed in 3.4.2 follow the affected surprise reading to the tee. They deny agreement with expected or unaffected subjects and trigger agreement when surprised by affected subjects.

### 3.7 Conclusion

The main arguments made above in chapter 3 call for a shift in focus from regarding the prefix according to syntactic terms to regarding the prefix in purely semantic terms. Additionally, while a nominative suffix might be in contradiction to a



possible absolute prefix, the prevalence of semantics and the affected animate argument constraints on prefix realizations and agreement fit more comfortably into the nominative verb structure described in chapter 2. Bashir describes the prefix as conforming to active language requirements (Bashir, 1985, pp. 16-18). This is closer to the truth than a prefix which patterns absolute. Additionally, as theorized in Bashir (1985, p. 17), the prefix acts within a system of semantic affectedness similar to active languages. Active versus non-active, as shown in the unergative and unaccusative constraints, and affected versus non-affected, as shown by the affected animate argument constraint, are better frameworks to discuss the prefix in than subject-object relations.

I have also shown how the semantically motivated prefix adheres to principles of expectedness and differential object marking. When the utterance creates animacy surprises and affected surprises, those surprises are marked on the verb. Because speakers do not expect animate objects, and because they do not expect subjects to be the affected party these two instances are marked. The final analysis of this case marking and agreement system can be summed up in a rather simple visualization of the Burushaski sentence, which accounts for all of the constructions that I have up to this point analyzed. That visualization is shown in (90) below:

(90)

[Sentence NP-(ERG) (NP-(OBL)) (NP-(ABS)) (Affected Animate Argument)-VERB-NOM]

## CHAPTER 4

### PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 4.1 Introduction

Passive constructions in Burushaski are described in Bashir (1985, pp. 5-6) Morin and Tiffou (1988) as well as by a native speaker of Burushaski who I have worked with on the subject. In this chapter I explore the passive as describe by Bashir, Morin, and Tiffou. Later, I go through the texts and look firstly for examples of the types of passives described in the literature. I then look for and describe other possible passive forms that I find in the texts, proposing a passive construction that utilized the intransitive light verb /man/ with the prefix agreeing with the patient and being paired with a transitive verb stem. Later, I state how the texts that I have analyzed thus far show possible passive constructions that differ from those described by Bashir, Morin, and Tiffou. Dialectical differences between Hunza and Yasin Burushaski may play an important role in the realizations of passive forms and is also discussed in this chapter.

##### 4.1.1 Issues with Passives in a Language with Ergative Noun Marking.

By its very definition, a passive construction should be, syntactically speaking, not found in ergative-absolutive languages (Mallinson & Blake, 1981). Passives in ergative languages become hard to identify because when P is promoted, it does not change case (Shibatani, 1988, p. 6). Absolutive languages already treat the patient as a subject in unmarked constructions (Comrie, 1988, pp. 10-11) and thus passive forms are

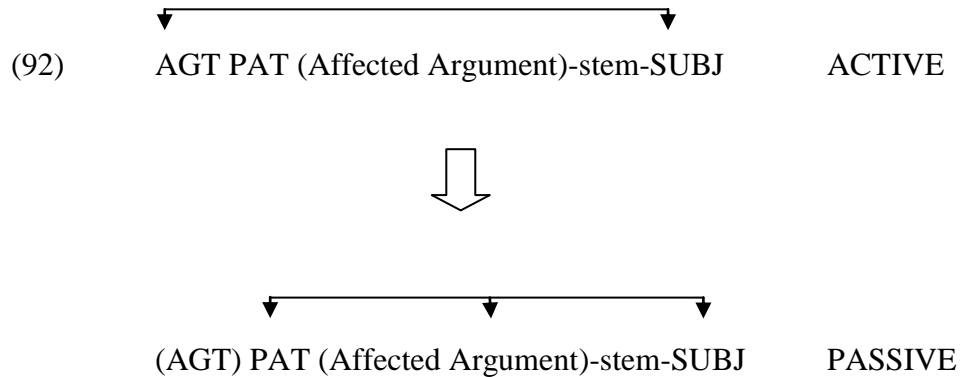
difficult to analyze. The pattern of passive voice in an absolutive language is represented by (91) below:

$$(91) \quad \begin{array}{l} [\text{ABS}]^{\text{OBJ}} \rightarrow [\text{ABS}]^{\text{SUB}} \\ [\text{ERG}]^{\text{AGT}} \rightarrow [\emptyset] \end{array}$$

The pattern in (91) suggests that a realization of a passive in an ergative language does not actually result in a structural change in the case markings agreement patterns of the active and passive constructions. The only thing that can be said for sure is that the sentence is now intransitive because it lacks an agent when the ergative moves to oblique. While this does follow the passive requirement that the sentence be syntactically intransitive, it does not allow for the other passive requirement that the sentence be semantically transitive (Shibatani, 1988; Mallinson & Blake, 1981). The sentences that are formed with this theoretical application of passive voice in ergative languages are not semantically transitive, which is something that is true in passive constructions of nominative languages. An issue with passive constructions in ergative languages therefore becomes distinguishing passive constructions from simple intransitive sentences.

This is where Burushaski's unique marking system can help explain why it is felt that there are passives in the language. Because the verb suffix patterns in agreement with nominative tendencies in Burushaski constructions, movement from object to subject is indeed marked with an agreement change on the verb. A passive construction has nominative suffix agreement for the subject, as well as affected argument prefix

agreement for the patient. A diagram of passive constructions in Burushaski would be as follows in example (92) where agreement is shown with arrows:



Burushaski's case marking system lends itself to passive constructions because it is less not an ergative language but rather a language with different participant coding systems, with agent marking on the nouns, differential object marking on the verb pronominal prefix, and nominative alignment on the verb suffix. The verb follows a nominative agreement pattern that could allow for passive formations to exist from the point of view of verbal agreement.

#### 4.2 Literature on the Passive

The possibility of passive constructions in Burushaski has been written about by Bashir and Tiffou, with two similar but ultimately different claims. Bashir claims that passives in Burushaski are purely semantic, with no actual syntactic passive (Bashir, 1985, pp. 5-6). Morin and Tiffou claim a syntactic passive (Morin & Tiffou, 1988). I first go over what has been claimed by Bashir and her notions of a semantic passive in

Burushaski, and then I review the work by Morin and Tiffou. Both claims are tested against the texts that I have analyzed.

#### 4.2.1 Bashir

The interesting aspect of calling a construction semantically passive is that there comes from this a lack of distinction between being semantically passive or simply an intransitive statement where the subject is undergoing a change. Unaccusative sentences in Burushaski follow this pattern, and a subject-patient is always double marked on the verb when the patient is animate as shown in 3.4.2. Take for example intransitive sentences such as (93) through (95) below where the absolutive subject is the patient of change and receives prefix agreement as well as suffix agreement:

- (93)      *mu-waal-umo*  
             3.F-lose-3.F.PAST  
             ‘She was lost.’

- (94)      *ǰe      a-war-am*  
             1      1-tired-1.PRES  
             ‘I am tired.’

- (95)      *in      mo-yay-i      bo*  
             3.F      3.F-sleep-3      AUX.3.F.PRES  
             ‘She is sleeping.’

The prefix agrees with the affected animate argument. In the case of (93) the prefix agrees with the subject ‘she’ /mu-/, while the suffix is in agreement with the subject of the sentence. The semantics of this sentence are that the woman was in a state of being lost. This can be compared to what is classified as a semantic passive by Bashir because the subject is also the patient of the sentence, although it lacks any indication of an oblique agent. Looking at examples from Bashir (1985, p. 6) I demonstrate the active form in (96) then contrast that with the passive form in (97). The verb here is nominalized with the particle /-um/ added after the verb in place of would be subject agreement. All information regarding tense, person, and number is held in the auxiliary verb /bila/. Bashir calls this a semantic passive. It is understandable that she would not want to call this sentence an actual passive construction, because calling the form in (97) a passive is not completely adequate in the presence of the alternate reading (97b). Most importantly, the restrictive clause reading where the verb /etum/ being attached to the verb be created the reading ‘doing such work is.’

- (96)      *ǰe-e*              *ǰuro*   *eč-a*   *baa*  
              1-ERG            work   do-1   AUX.1  
              ‘I work.’

(97)

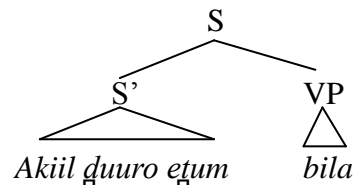
a. *akiil duuro etum bila*

such work do AUX .3.PRES

‘Such work is done.’ (Bashir, 1985, p. 6) (YB)

b. [*akiil duuro etum*] [*bila*]

‘Doing such work is.’ (YB)



There are other examples from Munshi (2006) with this reading which demonstrate how similar constructions act more like restrictive clauses or adjectives than they do passive constructions as presented in Bashir’s work on Burushaski verb semantics. One such example of dative noun phrase and verb stem usage is given in (98) below and another example from my own notes shows a verb+um that is best read as a restrictive clause in (99). When reading (99) notice how the be-verb agrees with the female noun phrase, following the be-verb realizations shown in Table 3:

- (98)      *ǰe-ar*              *ṭam*              *ḡila*  
                  1-DAT              swim              be.PRES.3  
                  ‘I can swim’ (lit: ‘To me, swimming is.’) (Munshi, 2006, p. 134) (J&K)

- (99)      *ǰe-e*    *in*              *ayar-um*              *bo*  
                  1-GEN 3.F              like-PTCP              be.3.F.PRES  
                  ‘I like you.’

Example (99) above could be read as ‘she is my liking’ where the genitive ‘my’ /ǰe-e/ is separated from ‘liking’ /ayarum/ by ‘she’ /in/. We can test whether or not /ayarum/ should be paired with /bo/ making it a participle auxiliary pair ‘am liked’ or whether it is part of the genitive phrase ‘my liking’ by moving something in-between /ayarum/ and /bo/, visualized in (100) as follows:

- (100)      [*jee*][*ayarum bo*]              vs              [*jee ayarum*] [*bo*]

As shown in Munshi (2006, p. 115) nothing can come between the auxiliary and the verb it is paired with. However, separating (99) is acceptable. Example (101) below shows one of the participants separating the auxiliary verb and the nominalized verb:



- (101)     *ǰe-e*                 *ayar-um*                 *in*                 *bo*  
                  1-GEN                 like-PTCP                 3                 be.3.F.PRES  
                  ‘I like you.’

Reading the *et+um* constructions as restrictive clauses limits their readings to semantic and does not allow a reading of syntactic passives with these forms. Munshi analyzes the */-um/* ending as indicative of an adjective in Burushaski. Derivational process attach the adjectival suffix */-um/* to verbs to create an adjective from the verb base.

Additionally, though there are no examples given, Bashir states that by using the intransitive light verb */man/*, a passive like construction can be achieved where the patient is the subject of the sentence. I had suspected that the */man/* construction might be a good indicator of passive voice in Burushaski. I test this hypothesis in 4.3 when I look at the texts.

#### 4.2.2 Morin and Tiffou

The examples from Bashir are very similar to those found in Morin and Tiffou (1988) where the examples given use single verb constructions which are nominalized in cahoots with an auxiliary verb. This is where a more English like analysis of the construction is used. The verbs in Morin and Tiffou’s examples are either *verb+um* or *verb stem* constructions. Examples (102) and (103) show this tendency:

- (102)    *bia*    *ḡu-ḥuurk*    *bi*  
          cow    dV-milk    AUX.3<sup>(cow)</sup>  
          ‘The cow is milked.’ (Morin & Tiffou, 1988, p. 509) (YB)

- (103)    *p<sup>h</sup>alo*            *bokum*            *bica*  
          seeds            sow            AUX.3.PL<sup>(seeds)</sup>  
          ‘The seeds are sown.’ (Morin & Tiffou, 1988, p. 500) (YB)

Using the analysis that I used for Bashir’s examples is less satisfactory here, because when noting be-verb agreement as shown in Table 4, the verbs are all in agreement with the subject of the sentence. ‘cow’ in (102) is a *bi* class noun and corresponds with the *bi* class be-verb /bi/. ‘seeds’ in (103) is a *bila* class noun and agrees with the *bila* class be-verb /bica/. Examples (102) and (103) could very well be adequately described as passive forms.

#### 4.2.3 Realizations of the Oblique

Morin and Tiffou (1988) also explore constructions where the oblique agent is expressly stated in the sentence, most commonly in the form of pronoun-ABL. This form was elicited from native speakers, Morin and Tiffou claim that they are hesitantly accepted and don’t actually occur in everyday speech, though they are technically acceptable. I have not found any passive forms in the texts that I analyzed which expressly state the agent, but the following form in (104) is theoretically acceptable:

- (104)    *?k<sup>h</sup>apun*        *ǰaa-cum*        *ǰu-kanum*        *bi*  
              ?spoon        1-ABL        dV-bend        AUX.3

?the spoon was bent by me (Morin & Tiffou, 1988, p. 510) (YB)

Expressly stating the oblique of a passive sentence is therefore, not natural for native speakers according to Morin and Tiffou's analysis. In my experience however, native speakers seem to be more accepting of stated obliques, and my colleagues, native Hunza Burushaski speakers, accept and promotes the pronoun-ABL stated oblique passive construction that was hesitantly accepted or rejected by Yasin speaking consultants in Morin and Tiffou (1988). Rather than using a passive derived from auxiliary verb constructions like examples (97), (102), and (103) in 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, this form utilizes what could easily be considered a regular intransitive sentence with normal affected argument and nominative agreements in the verb. A realized oblique is then added to indicate that the semantic agent of the sentence is not the syntactic subject. A passive form which uses a marked oblique agent and whose verb agrees with nominative subject was proposed by a native speaker and is shown in (105) through (107) below:

- (105)    *ǰe-e*                *cum*    *ǰuro*    *eǰ-im*  
              1-OBL            ABL    work    do-3.PAST

'Work was done (by me).'

(106)     *un        cum    a-s       gal-imi*  
              2        ABL    1-heart break-3.PAST  
              ‘My heart is broken (by you).’

(107)     *un        cum    ĵe        heryaan a-may-a       baa*  
              2        ABL    1        surprise 1-become-1    AUX.3.PRES  
              ‘I am being surprised (by you).’

This form does not look as much like English passives as examples (97), (102), and (103) which all use auxiliary verb constructions to indicate passive voice. However, there are also issues with the Pronoun-ABL passive forms in (105) through (107); namely the issue of what would seem to be a required oblique. Without an oblique marker, a sentence like ‘she was lost’ is ambiguous –that is, without the oblique expressly stated the statement is received as an intransitive sentence. When the oblique is added however, then certain intransitive sentences can then be read as being passive. This phenomenon is shown in (108) below. Notice that the verb remains the same, and the meaning only changes when the oblique agent is expressly stated in pronoun-ABL form:

(108)  
        a. *mu-waal-umo*  
              2-lose-2.PAST  
              ‘She was lost.’ (as a state of being construction)

b. *ǰe-e      cum      mu-waal-umo*

1-OBL ABL    2-lose-2.PAST

‘She was lost by me.’ (as a passive construction)

To date I have not found any examples like those claimed by Bashir and Tiffou in the texts that I have analyzed nor have I found any examples of the pronoun-ABL form of passives. It must be noted that the texts I am using are of the Hunza and Nagar dialects, and Bashir (1985) and Morin and Tiffou (1988) used examples taken from the Yasin dialect. Also, my colleague and consultant is a native speaker of the Hunza dialect which may also be influencing the forms and suggestions that are given to me. At this point I am unaware of dialectal differences between Hunza and Yasin Burushaski which may account for these different analyses of the passive construction, but I cannot rule out the possibility that such syntactic differences might exist. We have two interesting claims here; one where passives are formed in a way where the oblique is left out of the sentence entirely and another where oblique forms are required for a passive reading.

#### 4.3 Passive Forms in the Texts

I performed an analysis of 5 separate texts in an attempt to find passive voice being used in a native non-elicited discourse. Being semantically transitive, syntactically intransitive, and having the patient as the subject are the basic requirements for passive voice. Looking at all of the texts, I was only able to find a limited number of examples which satisfied the requirements for a passive construction of the texts. Baadil Jamal had

the most consistent glossing and was the most reliable source of textual information, so I use passives found in that text in my examples.

I looked specifically for sentences where the patient was in the subject position. Burushaski is a language that very often drops the subject or agent of sentences because of the redundancy in its double marking system. More often than not, verb agreement is enough to pass information to the listener without ambiguity and unless needed for emphasis or clarification. In these situations the participants are left out of the sentence entirely. Following parameters of cognitive accessibility, understood information is deleted with great regularity in Burushaski, so finding constructions with all the necessary data is difficult.

The method that I use to identify the syntactic subject was locating subject-patient agreement in the verb suffix, and where possible, double agreement in the prefix as well as the nominative suffix. With high regularity, unaccusative intransitive sentences doubly mark the affected argument and nominative subject of the sentence with agreement. A verb with double agreement with the subject and where the subject itself is the semantic patient satisfy the initial parameters for a passive construction by having a patient subject. Passive forms in the text all use the intransitive light verb /man/ and have double marking on the verb, showing the affectedness of the syntactic subject. It is interesting to note here that in these passive constructions the prefix, which is stated in chapter 3 as being bound by a semantic constraint which only allows it to mark the affected animate argument of the sentence, is in agreement with an inanimate patient. With differential case marking and surprises in mind, the prefix here may be marking the affected surprise of having a

patient subject, overruling animacy constraints. Examples of passives from the text Baadil Jamal are shown in (109) and (110) below:

- (109) *be guse un-e žame yalt č<sup>h</sup>ap i-man-i*  
 no this 2-GEN arrow wrongly shoot 3-become-3  
*bi*

AUX.3.PRES

‘No, this arrow is wrongly shot.’ (Baadil Jamal 26)

- (110) *nikah zame c<sup>h</sup>ar-e cat-ar c<sup>h</sup>ap i-man-i*  
 marriage arrow mountain-GEN crack-DAT shoot 3-become-3  
*bim*

AUX.3.PAST

‘My marriage arrow was shot into the mountain crack.’ (Baadil Jamal 69)

Using a similar construction I represent (109) and (110) in an active form in (111) and (112) by switching to the /eṭ/ stem and correcting the suffix so that it agrees with the subject of the active sentence rather than the patient:

- (111) *je-e zame yalt č<sup>h</sup>ap eṭ-am*  
 1-ERG arrow wrongly shoot do-1.PAST

‘I wrongly shot the arrow.’

- (112)    *ǰe-e    nikah            zame   c<sup>h</sup>ar-e                    cat-ar            c<sup>h</sup>ap*  
           1-ERG marriage        arrow    mountain-GEN        crack-DAT    shoot  
           *eṭ-am*  
           do-1.PAST  
           ‘I shot the marriage arrow into the mountain crack.’

In example (109) above the verb light verb construction, /č<sup>h</sup>ap i-man-i/, is read as ‘was shot.’ The auxiliary verb /bi/ carries with it tense and agreement beyond what is stated on the verb. The noun ‘bow’ is a *bi* class verb and as such is in agreement with the auxiliary verb /bi/ which allows us to rule out an animate subject. These auxiliary verbs, just as the suffixes, always agree with the subject of the sentence. Knowing this it can be determined without doubt that the syntactic subject of this sentence is the arrow itself.

Examples of intransitive sentences with the light verb /man/ and no pronominal prefix show up in the story Limpi Kisar. Because of the absence of the pronominal prefix, the readings are more ambiguous. Take for example (113) and (114) below. There is ambiguity in these constructions without the prefix due to the fact that the subject is not marked as a patient in these sentences.



- (113)    *sen-as-ar,    baq    man-i    bi    t<sup>h</sup>ar    man-i*  
           say-INF-DAT scatter become-3    AUX.3    break    become-3  
           *bi,                    p<sup>h</sup>aw    man-i    bi*  
           AUX.3            spill    become-3    AUX.3  
           ‘Having said that, it scattered, it broke, it spilled.’ (Limpi Kiser 77)

- (114)    *t<sup>h</sup>as-an            p<sup>h</sup>aup<sup>h</sup>au            man-aas-ar            ulo    nič-uman*  
           Smoke-INDF vent            become-INF-DAT    inside go-3.PL.PAST  
           ‘They went in where smoke was venting out.’ (Limpi Kiser 45)

Examples (113) and (114) are more cleanly analyzed as simple intransitives rather than passives. They conform to the animacy constraints which apply to unaccusative sentences discussed in 3.4.2, which denies inanimate patient subjects in unaccusative sentences from triggering prefix agreement on the verb. To receive a passive reading, the construction need to identify the subject as the patient of the sentence, while /baq/ needs to be understood as transitive. I contrast passive constructions with their active transitive counterparts below in examples (115) and (116):

- (115)
- a.    *baq                    et-am            t<sup>h</sup>ar    et-am            p<sup>h</sup>aw    et-am*  
           Scatter            do-1.PAST    break do-1.PAST    spill    do-1.PAST  
           ‘I scattered it, I broke it, I spilled it.’

- b. *(ǵe-e cum) baq i-man-i bi*  
 (1-GEN ABL ) Scatter 3-become-3 AUX.3  
 ‘It was scattered (by me).’

(116)

- a. *ǵas-an p<sup>h</sup>aup<sup>h</sup>u eǵ-am*  
 Smoke-INDF vent do-1.PAST  
 ‘I vented smoke.’
- b. *(ǵe-e cum) ǵas-an p<sup>h</sup>aup<sup>h</sup>au i-man-i bi*  
 (1-GEN ABL) smoke vent 3-become-3 AUX.3  
 ‘The smoke was vented (by me).’

Also, as suggested by a native speaker, explicitly mentioning the agent in passive constructions which use the light verb /man/ such as (109), (110), (115), and (116) is also acceptable, though I have not located any at this point in the actual texts. Examples (117) and (118) show pronoun-ABL forms being used with the /man/ light verb passive.

- (117) *?ǵe-e cum lip i-man-i bi*  
 ?1-OBL ABL throw 3-become-3 AUX.3  
 ?it is thrown by me.

- (118)    ?(ǰe-e cum)    *nikah*    *zame*    *c<sup>h</sup>ar-e*    *cat-ar*    *c<sup>h</sup>ap*  
               ?(1-GENABL)marriage    arrow    mountain-GEN    crack-DAT    shoot  
               ?*i-man-i*    *bim*  
               ?3-become-3    AUX.3.PAST  
               ?My marriage arrow was shot into the mountain crack (by me).

Because I have not found an example like (117) or (118) in the texts, I cannot say with certainty that it is an acceptable form. As mentioned earlier in 4.1.3, Morin and Tiffou received mixed reactions to pronoun-ABL forms from native speakers and concludes that it was not a natural construction. However, in my experience with pronoun-ABL forms it was native speakers who suggested them to me as passive constructions without elicitation. My consultant accepts the construction without hesitation. It could be dialectical (Hunza versus Yasin dialects) or it could be an emerging or de-merging construction.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

I had hypothesized earlier that because of the similarity to English passive constructions, that the use of an auxiliary verb was suspect. However, through the natural texts I have only seen potential passive forms using the auxiliary. This may be a false correlation, as there is substantial ambiguity in past tense constructions with regards to third person agreement on the verb suffix. The overlap occurs with third person male *bi* and *bila* class nouns. With third person male and third person *bi* class nouns especially, there are large numbers of instances where the suffixes for both these forms are exactly

the same. The only areas where the suffixes of certain tenses are not ambiguous due to homogeny are in the constructions where the auxiliary form is used in addition to verb stem suffixes. Referring back to Table 1 and 2, perfect tense, present tense, pluperfect tense, and imperfect tense are all differentiated between third person male and third person bi class in the following ways:

Perfect/Present:	3 Male /-ai/	Pluperfect/Imperfect:	3 Male /-am/
	3 bi    /-i bi/		3 bi    /-i bim/

Because these passives in Burushaski apply only to inanimate patients in almost every instance, there is an unnaturally high tendency for the passive forms that can be definitively and without ambiguity identified as passives to be constructions that use the auxiliary verb. Rather than claiming that the auxiliary is required for passive constructions, I instead state, with this false correlation in mind, that in the data I have it can only be said with certainty that so far passive constructions within discourse have only been found in auxiliary verb constructions, but passives without the auxiliary verb may be possible in future analyses of the Burushaski passive construction.

Searching for examples which use auxiliary verbs helps eliminate the issues of Burushaski nominative agreement in the third person where /-imi/ agrees with both third person animate male and third person inanimate. This issue arises often in stories, as almost every participant is referred to in the third person, unless being directly quoted. Passive like constructions in Burushaski are not used very often, though interestingly

neither are anti-passives. In fact, I have not found any examples of antipassive constructions in my data nor have I seen any examples of antipassive constructions in other's data. As a language typically identified as ergative-absolutive the absence of antipassive constructions and the presence of passive constructions is something which is unexpected. I have taken the different proposals for passive forms (Bashir, 1985; Morin & Tiffou, 1988) into account while analyzing the data that I had before me and found a form which differs from those forms described by Bashir and Tiffou, and in fact have not found the forms that they found in Yasin Burushaski anywhere in my texts. It does not disprove their analyses but it does show how at the very least, Burushaski is a complex language, and one which exhibits a very unique case marking and agreement system. The different systems of case, ergative on the noun and nominative on the verb, surely have influence over the varying forms of passive constructions found in the data, and over the infrequency of its usage. These varying forms may lend some evidence to Bashir's semantic passive.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

I set out to show specific tendencies of the Burushaski verb. Firstly, I showed how the verb suffix in Burushaski follows patterns indicative of multiple systems of participant coding. Noun phrases take semantic role marking with the agentive marker occurring primarily with highly active or volitional noun phrases. Second, verb prefixes occur to mark affected or unexpected patients. Finally, verb suffix agrees with the subject in a nominative type alignment. This analysis differs from earlier analyses which characterize marking within traditional alignment systems, ergative absolutive or nominative accusative.

I showed how examples of a split which denies ergative marking in future tense are less reliable in textual data that show future tense ergative markers. With case marking the language acts in a similar fashion to the way that different case systems between noun and verb marking acts in other languages. In the texts, the suffix always agreed with either the intransitive subject or the transitive agent. Again, this is a pattern that resembles nominative agreement. The agreement patterns can be double checked with the provided suffix agreement tables (Table one and 2) I showed how when direct ergative marking on the noun changes, such as in some future tense transitive sentences, that direct marking holds no influence over how the suffix is realized on the verb. I also showed how the underlying structure of Burushaski acts like those of

nominative languages. Control, coordination, and deletion patterns in Burushaski are consistent with those found in nominative languages. In constructions where one subject is controlled by another, the following relations are acceptable: agents can coordinate with other agents, intransitive subjects can coordinate with other intransitive subjects, and these two roles (agents and subjects) can coordinate with each other.

Unique constructions where the suffix may be analyzed as being in agreement with the object of a sentence were also shown to fit in the two systems with which Burushaski marks case on nouns and verbs, with pathetive case having object raising and a syntactically oblique agent. Experiencer noun phrases that are marked with the dative in Burushaski are a common feature of South Asian languages, though the agreement patterns on the Burushaski verb in these constructions is very unique. Because the verb suffix would seem to agree with the syntactic object if the dative-as-subject reading is taken, then this shift in agreement needs to be accounted for in future works. In my data specifically, the dative experiencer subjects that were found by Munshi (2006, pp. 133-135) were interpreted as beneficiaries rather than experiencers by my Hunza Burushaski speaking consultant. This hints at dialectical differences in the syntactic treatment of the dative noun phrases shown in chapter 2.6. The dative experiencer constructions are an emerging feature in Burushaski, being influenced by Burushaski's contact with other South Asian languages that use this feature.

I also showed how the prefix on the verb is best described in a purely semantic framework rather than a syntactic one. Unique constructions where the subjects are double marked on the verb prefix and suffix follow semantic constraints and should not

be called double syntactic marking. The prefix, in an intransitive sentence, only appears in agreement with animate subjects of unaccusative verbs. In transitive sentences, prefix agreement was only found in agreement with the affected animate argument of the sentence. This semantic category involves patients, recipients and experiencers. Bashir shows examples where beneficiaries, being treated as adjuncts and not arguments of the sentence, also trigger agreement. I found no such examples in my data and in-fact, found contrary data. This does not change, however, the function of the prefix as marking the affected party in Burushaski constructions. I discussed how these semantic constraints show how Burushaski verb prefixes pattern more like those of active languages, rather than those of an absolutive one. Applying the semantic constraints to principals of differential object marking, we find that the concept of surprises is marked on the Burushaski prefix. Unexpected constructions (Haspelmath, 2005) where the object is animate, and where the subject is affected are marked on the prefix.

I also explored passive constructions in Burushaski. The underlying nominative structure of the language, evident in the different systems between noun and verb marking, creates plausible passive forms. Previous work by Bashir and Morin and Tiffou give examples of passives using participle forms of verbs paired with auxiliary verbs. In my data, I did not run across these forms, but I did come across passive forms that utilized the light verb /man/ as well as double marking, which identifies the subject as the semantic patient of the construction. These forms exist purely with inanimate patient promotion, an oddity among passive forms which are more likely to raise animate patients. I showed how the passive form in Burushaski is rare, occurring far less than



passive forms in other languages. However, with the absence of an anti-passive, and the presence of different possible Passive constructions, I have shown how the passive form in Burushaski may be emerging, or that it may be influenced by Burushaski's complex case marking and agreement patterns.

APPENDIX  
WARLPURI PARTICIPANT CODING

The examples below which demonstrate different marking systems in noun case marking and agreement are taken from Kroeger (2004, p. 283) and Simpson (1991, pp. 155-161; 1983). Note: I separate the second position clitic from the first word of the sentence in my notation with an underscore, for example – [1<sup>st</sup> word\_clitic]. The different coding systems between noun case marking and agreement in Warlpiri is evident on the second position clitic. In (119a) and (119c) the clitic carries the morpheme /*rna*/ in the subject position which marks the first person, while the direct marking on the first person noun itself changes from a null marked absolutive in (119a), an intransitive sentence with a non-agent subject, to ergative /*rlu*/ in (119c), a transitive sentence with an agent. The same can be seen with the null marker for third person in the clitic, which occupies the subject position in both (119b) and (119d), while the noun ‘man’ is directly marked absolutive in (119b) (intransitive) and ergative in (119d) (transitive). The main point here is that while noun marking changes between transitive and intransitive sentences, the verb marking does not. It remains constantly in agreement with S and A while the direct ergative marker comes and goes.

(119)

a. *ngaju-Ø\_ka-rna*      *parnka-mi*

1-ABS\_PRES-1                      run-NON PAST

‘I am running.’ (Simpson, 1991, p. 155)

b. *ngarrka-Ø\_ka-Ø*                      *parnka-mi*  
 3-ABS\_PRES-3                      run-NON PAST

‘A man is running.’ (Simpson, 1991, p. 155)

c. *ngajulu-rlu\_ka-rna-Ø*              *ngarrka-Ø*      *nya-nyi*  
 1-ERG\_PRES-1-3              man-ABS      see-NON PAST

‘I see the man.’ (Simpson, 1991, p. 155)

d. *ngarrka-ngku\_ka-Ø-ju*              *ngaju-Ø*      *nya-nyi*  
 Man-ERG\_PRES-3-1              1-ABS      see-NON PAST

‘The man sees me.’ (Simpson, 1991, p. 155)

Similar constructions are shown below in Burushaski. Notice the pattern with which the verb suffix appears in these examples when compared to those found in the Warlpiri system shown above in (119). This type of independence between direct (noun) case marking and indirect (verb/clitic) agreement which is prevalent in Warlpiri is also occurring in Burushaski. As shown in (120), the Burushaski verb suffix follows patterns that are parallel to the subject position in the Warlpiri clitic. Examples (120a) and (120c) have the same subject suffix on the verb which agrees with the first person. At the same time, the first person noun /je/ gets ergative marking in the transitive sentence (120c) and no marking in the intransitive sentence (120a). The same can be said for third person in (120b) and (120d). These patterns parallel those in Warlpiri.

(120)

a. *je gaarš-a baa*  
1 run-1 AUX.1.PRES  
'I am running.'

b. *hir gaarš-ai*  
Man run-3.PRES  
'The man is running.'

c. *je-e hir i-yeč-a baa*  
1-ERG man 3-see-1 AUX.1.PRES  
'I see the man.'

d. *hir-e je a-yeč-ai*  
Man-ERG 1 1-see-3.PRES  
'The man sees me.'

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